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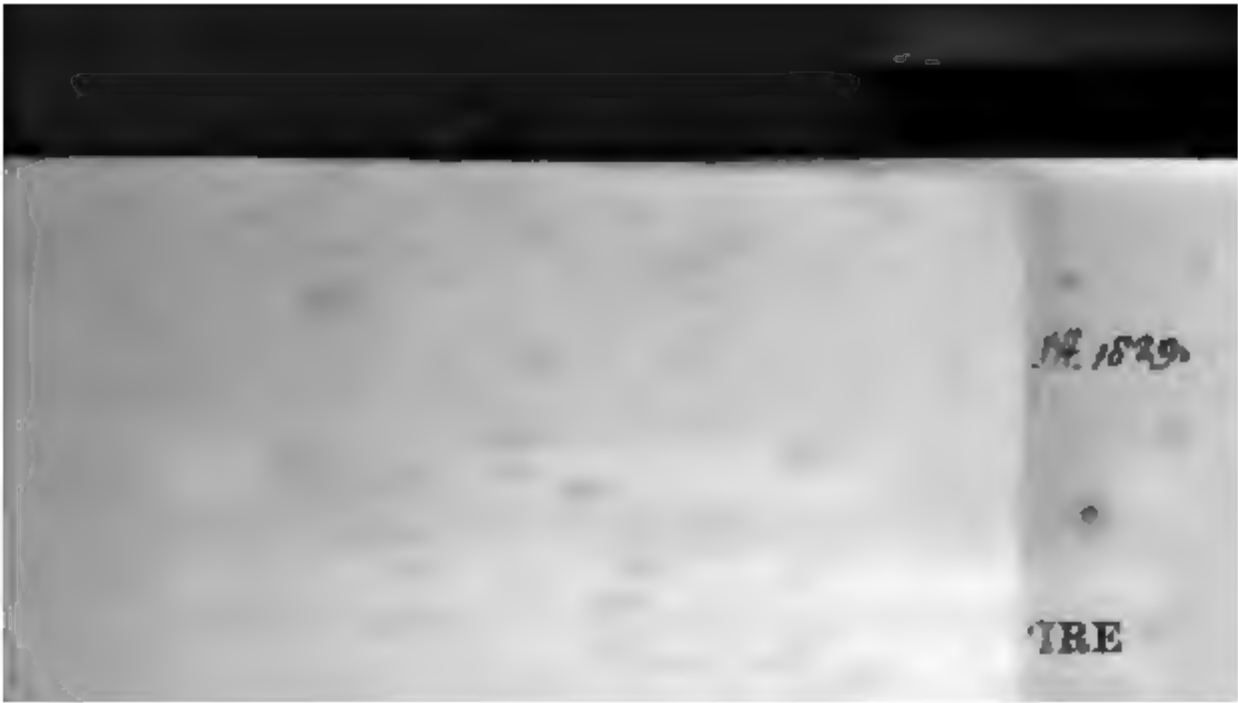
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**C. Baldwin, Printer,
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54. 1829.

HISTORY OF ITALY
DURING THE CONSULATE AND EMPIRE
OF
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,
TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF
CARLO BOTTA,
BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF JOANNA, QUEEN OF NAPLES."
IN TWO VOLUMES.

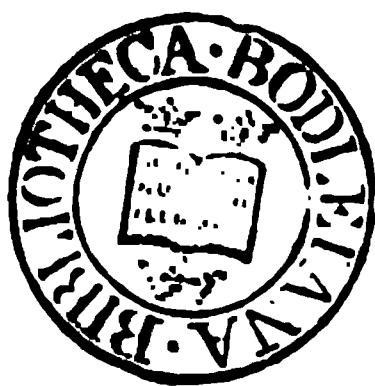
VOL. I.

"The History of Italy, from 1794 to 1814, is one of the finest subjects
of modern times; the ideal is there combined with the positive."—
Stendhal's Sketches of Italy.

LONDON:
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P R E F A C E.

THE translation which is now presented to the public comprises nine only of the twenty-seven books of Botta's History of Italy in our own times. The original work naturally divides itself into two portions ; the first beginning at the period of the beneficent reign of Leopold, in Tuscany, to which the historian so often and so fondly reverts ; and ending in the last days of the corrupt and feeble Directory of France. The second portion, which contains the history of Italy during the consulate and empire of Napoleon, from 1799 to 1814, is here chosen, partly because it consists of but little more than a fourth of the whole work ; the taste of the day being decidedly against voluminous reading ; many entering with pleasure on the contents of

two volumes who would turn with disgust from eight; and partly because the extraordinary character of "the man of destiny" is no where more fully developed, nor his *actions* more impartially related. In the pages of the modern Guicciardini facts are related with scrupulous fidelity; but the bias of his mind is sometimes perceptible in the motives he attributes to the actors in his great tragedy; and certain it is, that whatever good he may occasionally describe as the result of the actions of Napoleon, he never on any occasion traces their source to an impulse of virtue or generosity. It is also remarkable on the other hand, that his eloquent encomiums of the mighty genius of Napoleon are rarely given in the person of the author, but are attributed to the public at large. These, however, are swelled to a pitch of extravagance that seems like hyperbole to those who have lived out of the immediate scene, where every mind was subdued by the force of his genius, or intimidated by a superstitious dread of his fortune.

The writer seems panic-struck when brought back by his historical labours to live over again, in thought, those days when "*the fatal Napoleon*" was "*the umpire of fortune.*" Perhaps, in the present state of continental Europe, he dared not pledge his own opinions; for the vivid picture he has drawn of the powers of his wonderful theme; and, unwilling as an orator to forego the awe-inspiring effect it produces, he has adopted this mode of conveying it to posterity. An Italian mind could, perhaps, best comprehend and depict the irregular character of Napoleon, where the extremes of sublimity and meanness not unfrequently meet; for his transports of rage, his fond attachments, his imperious pride, his soft and kindly manner, his craft, his contemptuous sarcasm, his subtle flattery, his fixedness of purpose, and continual change of plan, —breaking, like the Epicurean, as he ascended, every step of the ladder by which he mounted to a dizzying height over the dark and troubled abyss of anarchy and revolution, are all to be

found in the character of the country from which he derived his origin. Napoleon was but in fact on a gigantic scale, one of the Condottieri of earlier Italy ; leading on by his personal influence bands gathered from all nations, rushing on without magazines and without pay ; rapid victories cementing their allegiance ; hope their support, and success their guerdon. In Italy were his earliest laurels won ; in Italy he gained the sceptre over his fellow men ; and whilst his own entrance into that gifted land, whose destiny it has been, in every age, to sway or to delight the world, resembles a tale of romance, the road he has made for others to traverse into Italy is one of his most enduring boasts.

The broad facts of this unequalled period of excitement and of reverses we know and we deplore : the banished men who crowd the shores, yet cannot weary the generosity, of Britain, are here to take up the tale of frustrated hopes and defeated rights. In reading coolly the detail of the times in which they were reared,

of the wrongs by which their country bled, and of the opinions which moderate men are obliged to form from the facts which history has to recount, we shall see the human mind displayed in all its varieties.

Botta, like too many of the most accomplished and the most virtuous of his countrymen, is virtually an exile, residing at Paris; and, like too many of the still noble and once affluent princes of the land which has ever been considered the boast of nature, is said to be indebted to the generosity of his friends for such comforts as an Italian can enjoy out of his own idolized Italy; where luxuries, such as wealth cannot create elsewhere, are the inheritance of all; where the wonders of art are the delight of every eye; the perfection of music is poured forth on every ear, and where many who live but to breathe the air of its balmy clime, find its tranquilizing influence a substitute for happiness, or a neutralizer of care.

Our Italian historian was busily engaged in

the scenes he describes during the whole of the momentous period of which his history treats. He was born in 1766, in the town of San Giorgio, in Piedmont, and took his degrees as a physician at the University of Turin. In 1792 he was arrested as an advocate of republican principles; but as nothing serious was proved against him, he was liberated after a short imprisonment. In 1794 he took refuge in the Cisalpine territory, as the French conquerors then termed Lombardy, and was thence sent with the French forces in his medical capacity to Corfu. He returned to Italy with the Italian army in 1796, and on the forced abdication of the King of Sardinia in 1798 was appointed by Joubert a member of the provisional government. His enemies, on the authority of the *Moniteur* of the 8th of March, 1799, accuse him of having being one of the three commissioners (Bossi and Colla were his alleged coadjutors) who proposed the annexation of Piedmont to France, but of this he says nothing in his history, and indirectly

apologizes for whatever may have been the errors of his political conduct. Thus, if any members of the provisional government were influenced by ambition, they were not long in discovering the bitterness of serving under foreign masters. For in a short time, not by their own misconduct, but from the miserable circumstances of the period, they lost at once the confidence of their own countrymen, and the friendship of the stranger. Fatal times ! in which ancient governments were destroyed from mad rage, and the honoured name of the worthy was vilified in order to reduce all men to the same level. This provisional government, however, lasted but a few months, and on the return of Suwarrow in 1799, Botta was obliged to seek an asylum in France. When the battle of Marengo had restored the French dominion in Italy, Botta, with Carlo Bossi, an advocate, and Carlo Giulio, likewise a physician, was appointed to govern Piedmont, under the name of an executive commission. This triumvirate, having all unfortunately the same christian name

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of the deposed king, were held up to ridicule under the familiar appellation of "*I tre Carli*," some malicious wit having made them the subject of the following epigram :

" Le Piedmont versait des Larmes,
Lorsque Charles etait son roi ;
Quels pleurs et quels alarmes,
A present qu'il en a trois."

Ranza, the Cobbett of Italy, attacked them unceasingly in prose ; and Calvo, the Fontaine of the Piedmontese dialect, wrote a bitter satire against them, in revenge for a few days' imprisonment, taking for his motto *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* ; and from the reiterated complaints he makes of the impossibility of governing Piedmont at this time, perhaps the historical physician was but too well convinced of the picture of the epigraph, and was not sorry to be relieved from his responsibility, when in 1802 the second provisional government of which he had been a member was set aside by the annexation of Piedmont to France. Bossi and Giulio were

made prefects; Botta was appointed a member of the new legislative council, as representative for the department of the Dora, and in 1808 became its vice-president. However, as, like other representatives and legislators under Napoleon, his office was a mere sinecure, he employed his leisure in writing his history of the American war, published in 1810, which all parties of his countrymen unite in admiring, and which the Americans cite as the best account that has yet appeared of that contest. During this period he received the order of the Legion of Honour.

In 1814 Botta, taking advantage of his privilege as a French citizen, again retired to France, where he obtained an employment under Louis the Eighteenth. Unfortunately for him, the reign of the hundred days did not pass over without bestowing on him further promotion, and, in consequence, on the return of the King of France he was deprived of his office. He has, notwithstanding, been permitted to reside at Paris, where he composed and published his recent works, and

is now engaged in writing the History of Italy from the time of Guicciardini to the period when the beautiful work he has completed commences.

There are few works whose sustained prolixity suggests more comprehensive and intricate views of the march of events than this of Botta: he seems to have written with the skill of an epic poet the rapid varieties of subject which history unfolds. He loves to mingle the minutiae of the midnight fray, the brilliancy of the fête, the horrors of the Lazar house, with the complex detail of state policy: the attention is almost wearied with expanded views and local regulations, when some trifling appeal to universal nature, some identifying touch, comes suddenly before us. The sugar plums of famishing Genoa, the hymn of the Tyrolese, the opera of Valetta, the sarcastic turn of his own thought, break into his subject like sunshine on the scene, and reanimate the picture: he is a deep master of irony, which is often suggested rather than

expressed ; and his covert smile is keenly felt under some unassuming phrase or short expressive comment. He is of that race of men, of warm and vivid fancies, with whom a shrug is of more eloquence than the harangue of other lands ; a gesture, or an intonation, the quintessence of passion, and the revealing of thought. All is rapid, keen, sententious when opinion or sentiment is in question ; while all is laboured into distinctness where facts are to be related. People more used to affairs would not need such long explanations ; but it is written by a native of the land of idleness and of thought, where to understand *things* is difficult, but to catch the most hidden turns of mind is the habit of every hour.

A few words remain to be said for the translation. As the work is chiefly valuable as the record of the opinions of the moderate men of continental Europe as corrected by experience, scrupulous fidelity has chiefly been aimed at by the translator, who on all occasions has endea-

voured to render the exact shade of praise or censure, and the epithets of the original simply. If this fidelity could compass the tragic effect, the pathos, the terse sarcasm of the original, there would be little more to desire ; but to cope at once with the style of Botta, and the flexible and glowing language of Italy, is no easy task. Should, however, the public favour the present attempt, the translator may probably be induced to offer at, a future period, the previous books to its approbation.

HISTORY OF ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

State of France after the loss of Italy.—General discontent, and complaints of the people against the government.—Universal desire for the return of Buonaparte.—His arrival from Egypt.—Puts an end to the Directory.—Assumes the supreme authority under the title of First Consul.—Turns his thoughts to the conquest of Italy.—Effects a reconciliation with the Emperor Paul, but cannot procure peace with Austria or England.—His vast designs.—Siege of Genoa.—Brave defence of Massena.—That city surrendered to the Austrians.

IN the present century, an age of violence, of ambition, and of pride, Europe has been doomed to pass through the two worst extremes that can afflict the human race, with the ultimate result of being left incapable of enjoying mild and liberal institutions. From the commencement of the French Revolution to the period of the Egyptian campaign, it had been convulsed by an unbridled

license assuming the name of liberty, which it was then fated to exchange for an oppressive despotism, under the title of an imperial government. The situation of the French Directory in the year 1799 was one of extreme difficulty. France was disturbed by the fermentation of various parties, all inimical to the existing government: the French nation, naturally impatient under a reverse of fortune, was at this time rendered still more impatient by the memory of former victories; and, to sooth their own self-love, the people imputed the blame of their recent defeats to the errors of their rulers. Complaints of their conduct were heard on every side, and the best that was said for them was, that they knew not how to govern; for some accused them of treachery, and others, of having divided the booty with those by whose robberies the soldiery had been reduced to such penury that victory was rendered impossible. That enthusiasm which had at first been felt for the three new directors had been entirely destroyed by the last defeats.

In the legislative council there reigned, as usual, the perverse ambition of embarrassing the govern-

ment, in order to attain to the Directorial seats, and from this motive its members thwarted the Directory in every measure alike, whether good or bad; and thus there was no longer any means or possibility of governing. The new conscripts would not march; the veteran soldiers deserted on account of the shortness of their pay; the taxes could not be collected; every nerve was wanting. Civil war lacerated the western provinces; party spirit divided the southern: in politics some advocated extreme opinions, others embraced the more moderate; many who well knew whither these wishes tended, and more yet who knew not what they looked for, further than change, desired an alteration in the government. And this alteration was inevitable, for no government in France can resist the effect of military reverses, if at the same time the press be free, and discussion unrestrained. The military faction, who ill brooked to see the nation ruled by the civil robe, and whom none but a martial government could please, looked around to see if any banner inviting to change was unfolded to the restless air, round which they might rally as a common centre, proposing to

subdue, first the government by the name of liberty, and then the people by the name of glory. These things were clearly perceived by the prudent, the enemies of license; nor were they less clearly seen by the factious, the friends of tyranny; and both hoped to turn them to their own designs..

In this conjuncture, the name of Buonaparte, so glorious to France—so fearful to her enemies, arose to the minds of all. He alone, said they, can restore health to the afflicted state, or bring its tempest-driven fortunes into safe harbour. He alone can give fresh verdure to the drooping laurels of the desolated republic; and his arm alone can regain the much-coveted provinces of unhappy Italy. Treachery, or incapacity, has sullied the name of France by unnumbered defeats; and already Europe, so often vanquished, threatens to attack even the proper soil of her victors. He alone, the conqueror of Italy, ever equal to himself, has chained victory to the republican banners on distant and barbarous shores. The fame of his triumphs in Egypt affords some consolation for the disasters in Europe. It is now to be seen

how much one man may be able to effect for the safety of the state, attacked by such overpowering force; and since Joubert is dead, and Moreau and Massena are unequal to the task, why should we not call to the aid of the sinking country Buonaparte, the matchless? In others there is courage—in others talent; but the mind which subjugates fortune, the commanding intellect which binds every will to one noble and exalted end, dwells only in Buonaparte: he only can moderate and restrain discordant opinions, and baneful suspicions. Let us prove, therefore, how much may be accomplished by a mind thus powerful, and by fortune thus constant:—with the conqueror of Italy the republic prospered; deprived of him, she has fallen; with the hero of Italy and of Egypt she shall rise anew. In this manner there arose in France an intense desire for the presence of the unconquered captain. The lovers of military glory turned to him, as capable of restoring its lustre: those corrupted by the appetite of command and of plunder, because they hoped to regain, through him, the opportunities of oppression and peculation: the enemies of licentiousness

desired him, because they knew he was adverse to it himself, and was strong enough to restrain it; the enemies of civil war believed that he could quell that evil; the ardent republicans doubted not that he would set aside the Directory; the moderate republicans believed that he would establish a regulated freedom; the learned, and men of letters, hoped for his patronage; the philosophers favoured him, because they knew he thought freely on religious subjects, and believed him a friend to civil liberty; the secret partizans of loyalty, because he had succeeded in persuading them (at least so it was reported, and even some overtures had been made to that effect) that he would consent to the return of the Bourbons, and to the restoration of their ancient authority in France. Every one, therefore, expected to find a saviour in him—every one desired his return, to redeem their afflicted country. This affection towards him had arisen, partly from the defeats that had been sustained, partly from the splendour of his own victories, partly from the artifices he and his partizans had practised so dexterously, that every man believed that his own peculiar

objects were exactly those which Buonaparte would labour to effect. So great is the efficacy of ambiguous language in civil discords, because the differing factions have no communication with each other ; or, if they have, they yield no faith to the representations of their political opponents ; and he who stands above them all may flatter them—may wind them about, and delude them at will. If, among madmen, the cautious can do so much, how much more may not the artful man effect, whose caution has double force ? and Buonaparte was, to a supreme degree, astute. In fine, the material of power was well prepared, and waited but to receive from his hand whatever form he should be pleased to impress it with. As soon, therefore, as the intelligence of the first disasters in Italy had been received, there had arisen amongst the lovers of change the idea of bringing back Buonaparte from Egypt, which gained fresh strength, and instant means were sought for its execution, on the news of the death of Joubert at the battle of Novi. In this design, the director Sieyes concurred, because his penetrating judgment enabled him to perceive that the state

could no longer hold together under the present form of government: Barras, also a director, favoured it, partly from ancient friendship for Buonaparte, partly from the hope of the restoration of the Bourbons. All the surviving generals of the army of Italy, except Massena, who was never well inclined towards Buonaparte; and, lastly, his two brothers, Joseph and Lucien, who were aspiring to power, sought equally to effect it. The conduct of Lucien Buonaparte was well adapted to promote the desired end: to his friends he represented that as it was impossible to live under the present government, another should be formed; to the public he depicted in lively colours, first the glories, and then the disasters of the Italian campaigns; and bewailed the fate of the Cisalpine republic oppressed by the tyranny of Trouvé and Rivaud. He eulogised and patronised Italy; and he preached the restoration of the liberty of France, trampled down, as he said, by an absolute and oppressive Directory. Thus alluring men's minds, he gained to himself, and to the name of his brother, the zealous friends of the liberty and glory of France; those desirous of

Italian liberty, and those likewise who coveted Italian spoils.

A Greek vessel was therefore employed to bear the common desires to the Egyptian shores in the summer of the present year. The intelligence it conveyed was grateful and opportune.

The prompt and vast mind of Buonaparte, his great political skill, and his profound knowledge of the human race, made him quite aware how full was the tide of fortune which flowed to meet him, and how propitious the opportunity of realising his immeasurable hopes. The occasion also appeared favourable to withdraw himself from Egypt, where affairs were beginning to take an unfavourable turn. He eagerly, therefore, set forward, to meet his new and extraordinary destiny. Weighing anchor from the Egyptian shore, he brought with him his most faithful companions in arms, whose swords he needed; and the most celebrated amongst the learned and literary, intending to avail himself of the powerful aid of the authority of their voices and their writings. He arrived unexpectedly at Frejus; and, disregarding the quarantine regulations,

because he wished rapidly to follow up the report of his landing, as suddenly left it, and quickly reached the ever fickle capital which eagerly expected him. I will not stop to relate the rejoicings that took place throughout France when the news was spread abroad of his return. Suffice it to say, that the people flocked round him on every side as a conqueror, a saviour, a redeemer;—already, France was his, though he was but a private individual, and a general without an army. Lyons above all was dizzy with unwonted joy; for that city was yet stained with gore from the domination of the murderous jacobins so lately extinct, and indignant under the martial law which still afflicted it. Buonaparte, as he passed through, spoke of peace, of commercial prosperity, of civil wounds to be healed by a mild and just government. The satisfied Lyonese felt their hopes revive, and loved him.—At Paris, every opinion, every affection turned to him. To all he gave good words; but, in fine, he inclined to the side of moderation, knowing that such was the general desire. Men of letters especially, whether poets or not poets, strove to gain

his favour in every manner that was most adulatory, and with measureless praise exalted his name to the skies. The infection of flattery was widely diffused; all France resounded with encomiums; liberty had already perished, ere brought to the birth.

Buonaparte drove out the legislative council at the point of the bayonet, and dismissed the Directory. The soldiers paid by the government turned against it. He was at first not without some fear himself, but soon found means to intimidate others: at this time he termed those lunatics, who could believe that monarchy could prevail over republicanism in Europe; and yet he afterwards suppressed all the republics, and every where established royalty. Europe knows the result of the 9th of November, which might have produced a system of regulated freedom, and which brought forth a severe, over-strained, despotic, and military government. Sieyes soon found that he had got a master, not an associate; Barras, that he had obtained not a colleague, but a man who wished to place him at a distance from himself, not a friend who acknow-

ledged in him a benefactor—one, in fine, in whom the desire of absolute power overcame gratitude and friendship.

Napoleon's trilateral series of artifices now commenced. Fearing that the French would hardly tolerate the great change he meditated, and perceiving that an extraordinary foundation must be laid, on which to sustain his immense cupidity, he prepared with infinite dexterity the most powerful allurements. Marvellous was his skill in winning victory in the field; but much more marvellous his art in seducing the minds of men. He drew them to a heavy yoke, but he alone knew what were his ends; and, spurred on by the grateful prospect of a happy futurity—by flattering hopes and gratified desires, they ran eagerly and impetuously to that point whither his will would have impelled them; yet never did so smooth a rind conceal a fruit so bitter. The termination of civil war in the interior, and peace with foreign nations, were deemed by him the necessary foundations of his power. The French were wearied and exhausted by protracted warfare, and desired peace above all things, provided

it could be procured without dishonour; and of this they felt no fear, with Buonaparte as their chief. To this end, therefore, he mainly directed his thoughts. A serious impediment to civil concord, he rightly judged, existed in those violent spirits who cannot from ambition remain at rest under any government, nor even continue tranquil when they are possessed of authority themselves, their tyranny first decimating the people, then bringing destruction on themselves, and laying the very foundations of the state in ruin. He was aware that the names of such were odious in France; and therefore believed that, to banish these authors of scandalous disorders, of quarrels, and of blood, would effectually promote the restoration of civil harmony. For this reason, therefore, without standing on judicial forms, or delaying to use against them the most severe remedy, he transported them to distant settlements or exiled them to foreign countries.

France being purged of these turbulent men, he next sought to recal those who had embraced the part of the king, or who at least had abhorred the excesses committed in the present period of

the revolution. But few were exempted from this edict of clemency; and those, rather as a means of granting future favours, than from any other motive. The exiles returned, but not to their own roofs—not to the possession of their confiscated fortunes—yet to see once more the mountains, the streams, the vales of their native land, to breathe again their native air; and this, even this, has in it something of felicity.

These measures were exceedingly gratifying to the royalists; and from them they augured still greater advantages to their party. Their satisfaction was grateful to the Consul, who wished to obtain absolute power by the aid both of royalists and republicans. And these ideas he the more willingly confirmed, knowing that they were highly pleasing to the European powers, and, in conformity with the expectations given by him, at Leoben and Campo Formio, of the restoration of the Bourbons, which was the first wish of the sovereigns, and particularly of the Emperor Paul. In the depth of his dissimulation, he hoped, by these means, to obtain peace in Europe, and such power in France as should enable him

near him from interested motives, others from virtuous intentions only, believing him inclined of his own free will to promote liberty, or hoping to gain him over to her side by persuasion. Amongst these latter, I have pleasure in mentioning the name of Cabanis, but whether the excellence of his thoughts, his words, his writings, or his actions was greatest, I am unable to determine, for certainly in all these he was truly eminent. This array of the scientific and the literary was a powerful support to the Consul; because every one thought that he to whom the society of those who cultivated the arts of peace was pleasing, must also hold dear the happiness of civil life, and with it liberty, which would be the perfection, and, as it were, the flower of civilization, if avarice and ambition did not corrupt it.

The war in La Vendée had from the beginning of the revolution been one of the greatest evils it had brought forth. The furious contests of the royalists and republicans had there exterminated entire communes; had laid waste districts that were before flourishing; had occasioned actions to be committed which men, enraged against each

he gave a country to the banished priests, liberty to the incarcerated, and security to those who had sought a precarious existence in concealment. These things he did openly, many others he promised secretly. All the priests, even those who, with crucifix in hand, had excited the Vendean population against the republicans, became attached to him, and promoted his authority. We must here add that, honouring that Pope when dead, whom he had persecuted when living, he celebrated the funeral offices of Pius the Sixth with many august ceremonies. He commanded his solemn exequies to be performed at Valence in Dauphiny; he called him just, and virtuous, and holy; and affirmed, that force and bad counsels had obliged him to make war against France. These discourses were wonderfully gratifying to those who still retained religious sentiments, and still more so to the clergy. France already called him, not only a conquering hero and a generous reformer of the government, but also the pious restorer of its ancient faith. The pontifical throne having become vacant by the death of Pius

she betrayed of keeping to herself the three legations,* had excited their suspicions ; and therefore they desired to strengthen themselves against Austria, by the friendship of France. These dispositions were artfully fomented by the Consul, and facilitated his plans in settling the affairs of Rome. It was now manifest that, instead of combating against Europe and the Holy See conjointly, the season had arrived in which he might avail himself of the aid of the church against the temporal powers ; and, as the worst evils had resulted from the cry of liberty without religion, he resolved to proclaim both liberty and religion, until his power should take such firm root, that he might extinguish the one and move the other at his will :—all things tended to his power.

But the first, and the universal desire of ensanguined France was peace, and this desire the Consul encouraged ; not that he expected to succeed in procuring it with all the powers, but to offer it to all accorded well with his general plans. He continually declared, that this was the purpose of his return from Egypt ; that he ab-

* Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara.—*Tr.*

horred alike war and conquerors, and prayed God to grant him just sufficient life to give peace to France and Europe ; for this only did he desire to live ; military glory had become disgusting to him ; peaceful labours alone had now any charms. These sentiments were expressed in such eloquent words, and with such benignity of countenance, that every one gave credit to his sincerity

With these views, though scarcely expecting that more than the credit of the offer would result from the overture, he wrote an elaborate letter to George the Third. “ Was the war to be eternal ? Were there no means of coming to an honourable adjustment ? Were two great and powerful nations utterly to disregard the prosperity of the state and the happiness of private families ? Did they not feel that peace was now actually in their hands ; and, as it was the desire of all, was it not therefore of all things the most glorious ? It was evident that France and England were sufficiently strong to continue long to harass each other ; but it was equally evident that the destiny of every nation hung on the termination of a war which had set the world on fire.” The

English monarch coldly replied, through Lord Grenville, that "France had desolated the earth; that like principles and like causes would in future bring forth like effects. Treaties of peace and alliance had been used for the destruction of friends and allies. It was yet to be seen whether the new government, produced by a fresh revolution, would adopt different measures and afford greater security to those who should treat with it. No confidence could be placed in general professions of pacific desires. Not empty words, but experience could convince other powers that the designs of France were now different from what they had been. The King desired peace, but it must be one affording security to himself and to his allies. The only certain means of solid peace would be to restore to France that line of princes whose government for so many centuries had given her internal prosperity and external dignity. Nevertheless, the King only intimated this to France—he did not demand it. He neither desired nor pretended to prescribe a form of government or a head to a great and powerful nation; he sought only security for himself—

security for his allies ; he was willing to come to an agreement when he thought he could do so with safety ; as yet, it was impossible to know sufficiently the principles of the new government, or to form any probable conjecture as to its duration." In this manner the proposal of peace between France and England was terminated. But this consequence resulted to the Consul from the overture, that the continuation of the war was imputed not to him, but to the English monarch.

Between France and England there existed a lively hatred, an opposition of interests, the jealousies incident on vicinity, and difficulties in the way of negociation, that were almost insuperable. Far different were the relative circumstances of France and Russia. Austria was the natural ally of England ; Russia was only so by chance. This the Consul knew ; nor was he ignorant of the coldness which existed between Francis and Paul. Austria having wished to occupy France ; her refusal to replace the king of Sardinia ; the harsh treatment of her soldiers by Froelich ; the Archduke Charles's having, by

his hasty march to the Rhine, left Suwarrow in great danger in Switzerland; the manifesting in every circumstance the desire of universal dominion in Italy, had altogether conspired to cool the ardour of the Russian emperor, and had indisposed him towards his ally, although he was not himself averse to possessing a secure footing in the kingdom of Naples, to serve as an emporium and a starting point, which he had recently endeavoured to procure by negotiations with Ferdinand. This dissatisfaction Buonaparte artfully fomented, representing to Paul the ambition of the emperor Francis, who wished, he said, to possess, besides the estates of Venice, which had been given in compensation for the Netherlands, both Milan and Mantua, and their dependencies, a conquest effected chiefly by the valour and blood of Russian soldiers; nor even content with this, he further coveted the three legations of the pontificate, and had, besides, a fancy for Piedmont, on which account he had opposed Suwarrow, when he wished to restore Charles Emanuel to his ancient seat. For himself, he had no other designs on Italy, than to bring it

back to the conditions of Campo Formio, to secure the independence of the pontiff, and the king of Naples; to give fitting legislation and more monarchical institutions to Lombardy; and to replace the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, if no just compensation could be found. As for England, he reminded Paul of her insolent domination of the seas, and of the noble spirit which Catherine had showed in having wished to restrain it; and, in magnificent words, he advocated the liberty of the Baltic, and the privileges of neutral ships in time of war. To all these insinuations he added certain expressions, which conveyed to Paul the idea that he meant to carry into execution the measures commenced by means of the Count d'Entraques for the restoration of the Bourbons. Paul allowed himself to be moved by all these promises and protestations. The Consul, in hopes of making him wheel round entirely, paid, and provided in every thing, the Russian prisoners in Holland and Switzlerland, and sent them home free to their sovereign. This appeared a generous act, and an earnest of future designs. Moved by all these things, the Emperor

of Russia, who was sudden in his resolves, transferred his wrath from France to England; and not perceiving, from the sincerity of his own mind, all that nestled under the flattering words of the Consul, he took him into his friendship and yielded to his will, declaring that he would no longer participate in the league; and recalled to Russia all the troops that were quartered in Germany. Then, becoming more inflamed by the hopes he received, he renewed, against the maritime power of England, the articles of the league of the North,* drove out of St. Petersburg the agents of George the Third, blaming the English for the unfortunate result of the expedition to Holland; and, shaking off the friendship of England and Austria, he threw himself precipitately into the arms of France. This appeared to all, as it was in fact, a change of the greatest importance, and was a powerful support to the rising greatness of the Consul.

Buonaparte having accomplished a reconciliation with the Emperor Paul, next endeavoured to confirm the alliance with Prussia; and this cost him

* Of 1780, called the Armed Neutrality.—Tr.

in the least confide in the promises of Buonaparte; for, having had with him many and frequent negotiations, he knew him well. It did not also escape his observation, that, to restore the Milanese to Buonaparte would render the possession of the Venetian territories uncertain; and that he could not without danger consent to divide the sovereignty of Italy with one so active, so ambitious, and so arrogant. These ideas received additional force from the instigations of England, who was intent on traversing the negotiation, seeing her own ruin in the tranquillity of the rest of the world. She offered a subsidy, and her co-operation on the coast of France. For these reasons, and considering moreover that the veterans of Buonaparte's army had perished, either by the plague in Egypt, or by the sword in Italy, Francis determined to refuse peace, and try what the fortunes of war might bring him. Buonaparte secretly rejoiced in the refusal, as much as he had profited in public opinion by having made the offer of peace; for he had no real desire to come to an agreement with Austria. Thus, confirming the major part of the world in

his favour, he also confirmed the affection of the contented in France, and won over the discontented; and, partly from the good he really executed—partly from the hopes he inspired, it followed that the French universally approved his government, desired his greatness, and willingly disposed themselves to forward his measures. The people eagerly rushed to the fulfilment of his will in every thing. France hastened to prove her new fortunes, and all hoped that, if Buonaparte, as her General, had rendered her glorious in the field, as Consul, he would make her both illustrious in war and happy in peace.

As for the conduct of the war, his measures were skilfully arranged. He sent fresh battalions, consisting chiefly of veterans, to reinforce Moreau, confirming him in his command on the Rhine, where he was to sustain the weight of the Austrians in Germany. On the other side, his mind becoming even more intent on the recovery of Italy, he sent Massena into Liguria in order to keep the enemy from the frontiers of France, and to preserve Genoa, until he himself could reach the Italian plains with a powerful force.

He assembled a large number of veteran and of new troops at Dijon, from whence, according to circumstances, they were to march to Germany, if Moreau should require their aid, or to Italy, if he should succeed on the Rhine, of which the Consul had great hopes from the skill of Moreau, and the strength of his army. For this reason, his principal design was to lead the troops assembled at Dijon under the name of an army of reserve, to the plains of Italy still resounding with the fame of his many victories. The French army, therefore, was disposed against Austria; Massena commanded on the extreme right, Moreau on the left, the central division was led first by Berthier, and afterwards by the Consul in person. Certainly, more tried, or more excellent, or more famous captains than these the world had never seen; and from them their admiring contemporaries expected deeds of surpassing glory.

The war becoming imminent, Buonaparte, whose words were the voice of victory, summoned his soldiers to the field. "When I promised peace, said he, in your name I promised

remonstrated with them—"Will the legions no longer hear the voice of their officers? Do they (and above all the seventeenth) desert their ensigns? Are then all the heroes of Castiglione, of Rivoli, and Neumark dead? Rather would they have perished than have abandoned their standards. You speak of the scarcity of provisions:—what would you then have done if, like the fourth and the twenty-second light, and the eighteenth and thirtieth heavy brigades, in the midst of deserts, without bread, without water, you had been reduced to feed on the flesh of loathsome animals? 'Victory,' said they, 'will give us bread,'—and will you desert your standards? Soldiers of the Italian army, a new general commands you; when your glory was most resplendent, he was ever first amongst the first; trust yourselves to him, and he will lead you to fresh conquests. I have commanded a faithful account to be kept of the actions of each legion, especially of the seventeenth light, and the sixty-third heavy brigade. They will call to mind the confidence I formerly placed in them." The minds

of these brave men were deeply affected by this address.

The Italian army, consisting of little more than five-and-twenty thousand soldiers, were distributed in the following manner. The right, under Soult, extended from Recco, on the eastern Riviera of Genoa, to Mount Cornua and Torriglio, and from the Bocchetta through Campofreddo, Stella, and Montelegina, on the western Riviera, as far as Cadibona and Savona; and commanded Gavi, and also Genoa, where the generalissimo Massena held his head-quarters. The left, under Suchet, guarded the western district from Vado to the Varo, with garrisons in the principal places: viz. San Giacomo, Settepani, Santo Stefano, Madonna della Neve, Montecalvo, Montegrosso; and also on the summits of the maritime Alps. This front was certainly too wide to be well defended by such a small body of men; but Genoa was necessary to the designs of France, because it was of consequence to the ulterior movements of the Consul that it should long hold out, and Massena wished to occupy a

large tract of country for the supply of provisions, of which he was in great want, therefore he was resolved to keep the command of the Riviera until compelled to abandon it.

On the other side, Melas, though a skilful and experienced general (and, perhaps, chiefly because he was so), could not persuade himself that the troops assembled at Dijon were to descend like a tempest on Italy, deeming it impossible that the republicans could, in so short a time, after so many discomfitures, have collected troops and arms sufficient for a movement of such consequence on those very plains where he had defeated, and from whence he had driven, them a few months back ; but he knew not how to estimate the promptitude of Buonaparte, nor the readiness with which the French speeded to whatever point his name and voice called them. Hence he remained in too great security as to what might happen on his rear and on his right flank ; and thus, intent only on driving the French from Genoa, he directed his whole force against a distant division of the French army, against difficult passes, against sterile rocks, leaving the

field open to his adversary to descend to the rich and level plains of Lombardy with all the weight of his central force. From the occurrences hereafter to be related, it will appear evident that Melas in this committed a great error, because he did exactly that which Buonaparte would have chosen him to do. This is so certain that I am inclined to believe that, leaving the Ligurian territory so feebly guarded, garrisoning the capital, and spreading so wide a front, proceeded rather from stratagem on the part of Buonaparte, as a bait to Melas to carry on the war where success promised to be so easily secured, than from error or weakness. In any case, it does not appear what advantage Austria could derive from the reduction of Genoa, which she could not, and probably did not wish to keep, or from the occupation of the shores, which she certainly neither felt the desire, nor possessed the means of permanently retaining. Then, too, the hope of displaying the Austrian standards on the frontiers of France, with the idea of exciting the people to rise against Buonaparte, was entirely vain, and undoubtedly was so thought by every one who

had means of knowing the temper of those times. Not in France, not amidst the rocks of Liguria, but in the fertile plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, was the contest to be decided, whether Italy should lie at the discretion of France or of Austria. The Austrians, therefore, being masters of the passes, should have guarded them jealously, and should have remained in force in the plain, instead of wandering away to an extreme point of the field of war. Melas, directing his efforts on one side against Genoa, and on the other against Nice, turned his back on Buonaparte, who was marching from Dijon,—an accident of war of peculiar singularity, which denoted in the Austrian General either too much confidence in himself, blameable ignorance of the designs already publicly manifested by the enemy, or a false estimate of how much that enemy could effect in a short time with his devoted Franks, so confident in him, so prone to arms, so impatient of defeat, so jealous of military honours.

The Austrians, who much exceeded Massena in numbers, were so placed as to surround the whole Ligurian territory. From Sestri on the east,

on the summits of the Apennines, opposite to those which the French occupied, they extended as far as the Col di Tenda. Otto commanded on the left, Hohenzollern on the right, as far as Novi, and opposite Gavi and Bocchetta. The generalissimo, Melas, was at Cairo, Esnitz at Ceva, against Suchet; and, finally, on the extreme point to the right, Morzin was between Cuneo and the skirts of the Col di Tenda. Melas, preparing to invade the Genoese territory, prefaced harsh deeds by mild proclamations. "Genoese," said he, "I enter your country, not to conquer nor to subjugate you, but to combat an enemy who, having promised you liberty and equality, reduces you, like so many other unfortunate nations, to poverty and desperation. The Emperor, my master, does not desire conquest; he only seeks to free your necks from the yoke which an intemperate conqueror has imposed on you; he commands property and religion to be respected; he desires the safety and happiness of the people. Look to the provinces restored by our arms to liberty: of your country he is not less tender. In his name, I will call to the government the most virtuous,

the wisest of your citizens. The ports shall be open; commerce, the true and only source of your prosperity, shall be free; poverty shall be exchanged for riches; oppression for liberty. By victory I will procure this, and will secure it to you!"

One Azzeretto, a Genoese, first in the pay of France, and then in that of Austria, strove much at this juncture to disturb the affairs of Genoa. In a furious proclamation, filled with over-harsh and immoderate censure of the French, he invited his compatriots to rise against them, and assert their liberty. But, by their own arms, the French and Austrians were to decide the matter; for not the slightest movement was made by the Genoese in favour of the league, as had been promised by Azzeretto.

Melas had stationed the greater number of his forces on the Carcare, his design being to push on and drive the enemy from the upper summits, to Savona, in order thus to separate the left wing of the French from the centre, and from the right, who fought on the eastern district. If he should succeed in this, his ulterior object of

skilfully arranged, were intended to give Savona to the Austrians, and thereby to separate Suchet from Massena. The first engagement took place at Torri: the contest was severe, the Austrians having the advantage in numbers, the French in ground; but in the end, this Gallic van-guard was driven back to the trenches of Cadibuona. Here the encounter was still more desperate, but was at last decided in favour of the Imperialists, by the brave battalion of Reisch, which attacked the trenches in flank, and constrained the republicans to retreat in such disorder that, but for the timely aid of a fresh reinforcement under Soult, they would have been entirely routed. But neither the presence nor the exertions of Soult could restore the fortune of the day; for the Austrians, in the enthusiasm of victory, drove the enemy entirely out of the field; and the French, climbing with breathless labour up the summits of the mountains, sought shelter on Monte Ajuto, where there are some fortifications. Melas, unwilling to leave them in possession of this asylum, sent Palfi and Lattermann against it, with five battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment

of Spleney; and the one attacking it in front, the other in flank, succeeded in dislodging the French from this strong position. The republicans again made head at Montemoro; Melas attacked them in front and in the rear, and in the flanks on one side towards Vado, on the other towards Arbizzola, and obliged them, from the fear of being cut off, to retire in confusion to Savona. The victors closely following, entered the city with them pellmell. Soult, in the exigency of the moment, threw what provisions he could into the fortress, and, fighting rather as if he were the victor, than vanquished by the Imperialists, who had already descended to Arbizzola, retired to Varaggio. These encounters were attended with great loss on both sides, but the French were most severely injured, as their numbers were less.

In a similar manner the republicans, though constantly overpowered by superior force, defended in turn every village, every mountain pass, or fortress, of the Genoese territory. Massena, Soult, Suchet, and Miollis, were opposed to Melas, Hohenzollern, Otto, and Esnitz, in a

succession of severe, though undecisive, actions.* But, in the end, the Austrians having a decided superiority in numbers, were so generally successful, that Massena was forced to retire within the walls of Genoa; and Suchet, who had been driven back beyond Nice, defended the ancient frontier of France on the banks of the Varo with a degree of courage, intelligence, and activity, worthy of the highest praise. His services at this period proved of the utmost consequence to the republic, not only preserving her own territory inviolate, but gaining time for the mighty design of the Consul in Italy.

And now the hoary and victorious Melas began to discover that he had fallen into the snare laid for him by the youthful warrior, and that it was so little the season for the conquest of Provence, that all his efforts must be given to the preservation of Italy, if it were not already too late. He had received the earliest intelligence of the descent of Buonaparte from the Pennine Alps.

* These are all given by Botta in the fullest detail. The Translator hopes, however, that the reader will not regret the omission here, as the recital is, on the whole, tedious.

At first he thought the matter of little consequence; yet he erred much in supposing that the Consul was likely to appear with a small force on the summits of the Alps; and he should have been fully aware, that where Buonaparte was, there was the whole fortune of the war—there the coming ruin of Austria. On the first report, he sent a brigade to Piedmont, across the Col di Tenda; but, when he found that the danger was even greater than rumour had made it, he resolved instantly to leave the distant field of fruitless contests, to repair to that arena where conqueror must be opposed to conqueror, hand to hand. Esnitz was therefore commanded to desist from the attack on Provence, and either to join Otto in the siege of Genoa, if Genoa still held out, or to follow Melas to the plains of Alexandria, if the capital of Liguria should have yielded to the arms of Austria. Esnitz accordingly retired, and was closely followed by Suchet. Every pass of the Genoese territory being shut against him, the Austrians entered Piedmont by the valley of Ormea; while Suchet marching on, attacked the castle of Savona.

At this time the war consisted of two principal circumstances—the siege of Genoa, and the descent of Buonaparte into Italy. The one closely depending on the other, Otto used every effort to take the city, in order to join the definitive struggle in the fields of Alexandria. Massena, through the courage and the ingenuity of his own officers, or of the patriotic exiles of Piedmont (who came to and fro with intelligence, traversing, at an extreme risk, the quarters of the Austrians), was well informed of all that occurred in the Pennine Alps; and, for a contrary reason, wished to hold out as long as possible. His determination gave rise to circumstances worthy of record, and such as are rarely to be read in the annals of history. The capital of Liguria rises in a magnificent amphitheatre on the back of the Appennines, between the rivers Polcevera and Bisagno, and is guarded by an outer and inner circuit of wall.* These two circumvallations are furnished with bastions and curtains, according to the circumstances of the steep, rocky, and broken grounds. The first wall begins on the right bank of the Bisagno, on

* The one six, the other thirteen miles in extent.—*Tr.*

mounts of the Ratti, the Fascia, and Becco. Such were the defences when Genoa was independent: they then sufficed, because they could not be reduced by a short siege, and a long one was improbable, in consequence of the mutual jealousy of other powers. Massena's living defence consisted of 10,000 French soldiers: he had with him Soult, Gazan, Clauzel, Miollis, and Darnaud. To these must be added about 2,000 Italians of different states, formed by Massena into a regular body, and placed under the command of Rosignoli, a Piedmontese, a man of noble nature, of great courage, and enthusiastically devoted to liberty. They were faithfully aided by the Genoese National Guard, equally from affection to France, hatred of Austria, and the fear of pillage during any internal disturbance. All this force together was, however, certainly not sufficient to guard so large a circuit: and scarcity of provisions was also much feared, particularly of grain; for the English, under Keith, prevented the entrance of supplies from Corsica and Marseilles.

Of the then existing government of Genoa I will say little: it was neither more free nor more

the shores, particularly near the Bisagno, where the coast is less strongly defended than towards the Polcevera. Otto, who conducted the siege, commanded a vigorous assault on the 23d of April, to the left of the Polcevera. The regiment of Nadasti first drove the French from Rivarola, and then took possession also of San Pier d'Arena; but Massena drove them out again with the twenty-fifth regiment. The assailants knew that the weakest part was towards the east, and therefore resolved on an attack in that quarter, endeavouring to seize the heights. On the 30th, before the dawn of day, Hohenzollern and Palfi attacked the Mount of the Two Brothers; Colonel Frimont, descending from the Fascia, assaulted the three forts, Ratti, Quezzi, and Richelieu; General Massena escalated Santa Tecla; Azzeretto, with his peasants, stormed around the "Diamond;" and Gottesheim, passing Starla, approached San Martino d'Albaro and the walls of the city. In aid of all these movements on the eastern side, Otto attacked Rivarolo on the western. The Germans succeeded in almost all these attempts; they gained mount Ratti, the Two Brothers, and fort Tecla. Fort Richelieu and

the Diamond were surrounded. Gottesheim had already gained one-half of San Martino, and was occupied in reducing the other. The danger of the French was great; for, if the Germans could keep the places they had taken, Genoa must inevitably fall. Massena, therefore, strove to recover his losses: he sent Soult to the 'Two Brothers,' Darnaud against Gottesheim; Miollis against Santa Tecla and Quezzi; and all were successful. The Italians under Rössignoli were the first who accomplished the task assigned them—retaking the Two Brothers; Massena, indefatigable, invincible, and indignant, animated by success, made a fresh sortie on the 11th of May, his intention being to drive the enemy from Mount Fascia, from whence they could destroy the fortifications nearest to the citadel: Soult he commanded to wind up the back of the mountain; Miollis to attack it in front. Miollis was unsuccessful; but Soult, after a fierce contest, carried the Mount. Hohenzollern and Frimont, however, recovered it ere long from the republicans. Massena, in the mean time, collected provisions from the country, though but a scanty and insufficient

supply. He next endeavoured to take Mount Creto, important both from its commanding situation, and as a pass from the eastern to the western Riviera.* Two large squadrons were sent against it: the right under Soult, the left under Gazan. The Germans were vigilant and well fortified; and the assault was furious; the defence valiant. The French, however, were gaining the day, when a terrific storm came on; the air became quite dark, and the rain fell in extraordinary torrents; and the assailants were forced to retire. When the sky cleared they returned to the attack; but, in the mean time, Hohenzollern had been able to bring up fresh troops; he broke the republicans, and drove them back within the walls. In this affair the combatants fought with indescribable fury—man to man. Soult, whilst zealously urging his men to the charge, was severely wounded in the right leg, and made prisoner.

This unfortunate expedition was the last sortie attempted by Massena, for he had lost his best soldiers, and was too weak to leave the city.

* The Genoese territory between the Appennines and the sea, so called.—*Tr.*

However, he was still strong enough to prevent the enemy from carrying it by force of arms ; but famine effected what valour was unequal to accomplish. Having here to describe the aspect of Genoa in these latter days of the siege, I cannot but deplore the fate of an Italian people reduced to the extremest misery,—not in a struggle decisive of misery or slavery, but to determine whether a city, desolated by rapine, slaughter, famine, and pestilence, should, in the end, be subject to Austria or France ! Keith prevented the entrance of supplies by sea, Otto by land. Provisions became scarce—scarcity grew into want.

When this deficiency was first dreaded, food was dealt out in scanty portions ; it was then adulterated ; and, finally, every thing most disgusting was devoured—not only horses and dogs, but even cats, mice, bats, and worms ; and happy was he who could obtain these. The Austrians had taken the mills of Bisagno, Voltri, and Pegli, and none were left to prepare the corn. This was remedied, for a time, by using hand-mills, chiefly coffee-mills. The Academy was now employed to devise better ones ; and they invented springs, and

wheels, and mills of novel construction, with some of the largest of which, one man could grind a bushel a-day. In every street, in every shop, these machines were seen continually at work ; in private houses—in familiar parties, every one was grinding : the ladies made it their pastime ; but within a short time there was no more corn left to grind. When grain failed, other seeds were sought to supply its place : flax-seed, millet, cocoa, and almonds, were first put in requisition, for of rice or barley there was none ; and these substitutes were roasted, mixed with honey, and baked, and were considered a delicacy. Parents and friends rejoiced with him who could, for an additional day, support himself and his family with flax-seed, millet, or a few grains of cocoa ; even bran, a substance affording no nourishment, was also ground, and, when baked with honey, was eaten, not to satisfy, but to deaden hunger ; beans were most precious.—Happy were now, not those who lived, but those who died ! The day was sad from hunger and the lamentations of the famishing ; the night was sadder still from hunger accompanied by delirious fancies. When every

kind of seed had been exhausted, recourse was next had to herbs; monk's-rhubarb, sorrel, mallows, wild succory, rampions, were diligently sought for, and as greedily eaten as if they had been pleasing to the palate. Long files of people, men of every rank, ladies of noble birth, as well as plebeians, were seen examining every verdant site, particularly the fertile orchards of Bisagno, and the delightful hills of Albano, to dig out of them those aliments which nature has destined solely for the ruminating beasts. For a time sugar was used: rose, violet, and candied sugar, and every kind of confection were in general use. The retailers, men and women, sold them in public, in elegant little baskets adorned with flowers and garlands—a strange sight in the midst of all these pallid, emaciated, and cadaverous faces; yet thus powerful is the imagination of man, pleasing itself in embellishing that which, in its own nature, is most lamentable and terrible—a merciful dispensation of Providence, who wills not man's despair. But enough:—women of plebeian, as well as those of noble birth, who were alike seen to feed on what was most loathsome

in the morning, ate of the most delicate confections in the evening. That the sight of extreme misery does not correct iniquity in the evil disposed, Genoa, in her utmost distress, afforded an example but too horrible; for some, devoid of every feeling of humanity, and actuated only by the vile spirit of gain, used chalk in the eatables they sold, instead of flour, of which not a few of the consumers died, suffering under the agonies caused at once by hunger and by the deleterious compound.

During the siege, yet before the last extremities arrived, a pound of rice was sold for seven lire; a pound of veal for four; a pound of horse-flesh for thirty-two soldi;* a pound of flour for ten or twelve lire; eggs at fourteen lire the dozen; bran at thirty soldi the pound. Before all was over, a bean was sold for two soldi, and a biscuit of three ounce weight for twelve francs, and none were at last to be had. Neither Massena, nor the other generals, would allow themselves greater

* The value of a lira at Genoa, is 8½d; a soldo is equivalent to ¼d. The lira is an imaginary denomination, varying in value in the different states of Italy.—*Tr.*

Indulgences than private individuals ; they fared like the plebeians ;—a laudable instance of self-denial, and highly efficacious in enabling others to bear up against their privations. A little cheese and a few vegetables was the only nourishment given to the sick and wounded in the hospitals. Men and women, in the last agonies of starvation and despair, filled the air with their groans and shrieks. Sometimes, while uttering these dreadful cries, they strove with furious hands to tear out their agonized intestines, and fell dead in the streets. No one relieved them, for no one thought but of himself ; no one heeded them, for the frequency of the circumstance had made it cease to seem horrible. Some in spasms and convulsions and contortions groaned out their last amidst crowds of the populace. Children, left by the death or the despair of their parents in utter destitution, with mournful gestures, and tears, and heart-broken accents, implored the pity of the passing stranger ; but none either pitied them, or aided them ; the excess of his own sufferings extinguishing in each man's breast compassion for the misery of others.

These innocent deserted beings eagerly searched in the gutters of the streets, in the common sewers, in the drainings of the washing-houses, for a chance morsel of some dead animal, or any remains of the food of beasts, which, when found, was greedily devoured. Many who lay down alive in the evening were found dead in their beds in the morning, and children more frequently than adults: fathers accused the tardiness of death, and some hastened its approach by the violence of their own hands—citizens and soldiers alike. Some of the French preferring death to the anguish of hunger destroyed themselves; others disdainfully flung down those arms which they had no longer strength to carry; and others, abandoning a habitation of despair, sought in the camp of the enemy, English or Austrian, that food and that pity which was no longer to be found amidst the French and Genoese. But cruel and horrible beyond all description was the spectacle presented by the German prisoners of war, confined in certain old barges anchored in the port; for such was the dire necessity at last, that for some days they were left without nutriment of any

description. They eat their shoes, they devoured the leather of their pouches, and, scowling darkly at each other, their sinister glances betrayed the horrid fear of being at last reduced to a more fearful resource. In the end, their French guards were removed, under the apprehension that they might be made the sacrifice of ravening hunger : so great at last was their desperation, that they endeavoured to pierce holes in the barges in order to sink them, preferring to perish thus, rather than any longer endure the tortures of hunger. As commonly happens, a mortal pestilence was added to the horrors of famine : the worst kinds of fevers carried off crowds from the public hospitals, the lowly hovels of the poor, and the superb palaces of the rich. Under the same roof, death might be seen in different shapes : one died, maddened by hunger, another stupified by fever ; some pallid from extenuation, others livid with febrile spots. Every thing brought grief—every thing fear ; for he who was still living awaited either his own death, or that of his nearest friends. Such was the state of the once rich and joyous Genoa ; and the bitterest thought of all was, that her

present sufferings could conduce nothing to future good, either as to her liberty or her independence.

The fortitude of all was exhausted. Massena alone retained his firmness, because his mind was bent on aiding the enterprise of the Consul, and on preserving intact his reputation as an unconquered commander; but, at last, when honourable conditions were offered by Keith, he brought down his spirit to a composition, since even the loathsome and poisonous food Genoa was reduced to, could not last for more than two days longer. Yet, still, his tone was rather that of a successful than of a defeated General: he insisted on the cession being called a convention, not a capitulation; which the allies were forced to grant. Massena and his troops, about eight thousand in number, were to leave Genoa, unrestricted by any conditions, either as to their persons or their allegiance. They were free to return to France by land; and those who could not accomplish this march, were to be carried by the English ships to Antibes, or the Gulf of Juan. The German prisoners were given up. No inquisition

was to be made as to the past, and those who wished to abandon Genoa were at liberty so to do; the allies were to furnish provisions, and take care of the sick; and on the 4th of June, the city was to be delivered up to the Austrian and English forces. On the appointed day, accordingly, the first took possession of the gate of the lantern; the second of the mouth of the port. Then Otto entered in triumph with his army, Keith with his fleet; but the prize thus obtained by a tedious war of detail, was speedily wrested from them by a brief and vigorous campaign. The most ardent democrats went away with the French; amongst others, Morandi, the Abbate Cuneo, the advocate Lombardi, and the brothers Boccardi. The bells were rung as for a festival, hymns were sung, and if bonfires were lighted by the partizans of the Austrians from affection, more were lighted by their enemies from fear. Every thing seemed to be as usual:—bread, meat, vegetables, and provisions of all kinds re-appeared in abundance, and those who abandoned themselves without restraint to the first impulse of appetite died in consequence. Thus many, who had not been

destroyed by long inanition, were killed by satiety. The retailers and venders, excited by the greediness of gain, strove to keep up the prices, but the infuriate populace fell on them in such a manner, as made them feel that hunger is a fierce counsellor. The peasants, under Azzeretto, endeavoured to sack the houses of the democrats, as they said, but, nevertheless, did not spare the aristocrats. But Hohenzollern, who had been left by Otto in command, restrained these excesses by military law. The Austrian commander created an imperial and royal regency, to which he called Pietro Paolo Celesia, Carlo Cambiaso, Agostino Spinola, Gian Bernardo Pallavicini, Girolamo Durazzo, Francisco Spinola di Gian Battista, and Luigi Lambruschini. The regency restrained the re-action of party vengeance ready to burst forth, by a laudable exertion of authority; but then came the opening of purses, an inevitable but cruel command in miserable Genoa. As for the rest, no sign was shown on the part of Hohenzollern, or of Melas, of any inclination, either towards the restoration of her ancient government, or her independence. Notwithstanding this, the aristo-

crats shouted *vivas* for the Emperor, from hatred against the democrats, just as the democrats had sent forth *vivas* for France, from hatred to the aristocrats ;—blind slaves and madmen, both the one and the other ; for they could not see, that from their private animosities sprang the ruin of their country, and the domination of foreigners.

CHAPTER II.

The Consul passes the Great St. Bernard.—Gains the battle of Marengo; and becomes master of Upper Italy.—Provisionary governments in Piedmont, Genoa, and Milan.—Conclave in Venice.—Cardinal Chiaramonti raised to the Pontificate; his inauguration at Rome.—Practices of Buonaparte with him.—Malta taken by the English.—Movements in Tuscany.—War renewed between Austria and France.—Battle of the Mincio between Bellegarde and Brune.—Retreat of the former.—Passage of the Splügen effected with wonderful courage and skill, by Macdonald.—Fresh successes of the French.—Peace with Naples, Austria, and Spain.—All Europe, except England, in amity with France.

IN the mean time Buonaparte, the umpire of fortune, drew near, and the Austrian power in Italy tottered to its fall, at his approach. The First Consul had, with surprising celerity and skill, assembled his army of reserve at Dijon, from whence he alike menaced Italy and the Rhine; but by the successes of Moreau, in Ger-

many, against Kray, he found himself enabled to lead his forces to those fields where the trophies and the renown of his former triumphs were still fresh. Stimulated at once by the love of glory, and the certainty of finding numerous partisans, he was impelled to this scene of action by the highest incitements; and, therefore, whilst the ill-advised Melas continued to harass himself against the sterile rocks of extreme Liguria, Buonaparte approached the Alps, intent only on the factions of Italy.

Various, many, and powerful were the means he possessed of conducting his enterprise to a prosperous conclusion,—soldiers eager to will whatever might be his wishes, brave and expert generals, a formidable artillery, and an efficient body of cavalry. For the food of the soldiery on the desert solitudes of the Alps, he had provided biscuit in great abundance; and, in order to draw the artillery up and down the broken and narrow paths, choked up with snow and ice, he procured a peculiar kind of cart made in the manner of the sledges which are used in those regions for descending from the snowy heights. Nor was

this the only means devised by Buonaparte and Marmont, who superintended the artillery, to facilitate its passage over places till then considered inaccessible. Amongst other expedients, they caused trunks of large trees to be hollowed into troughs, in which they placed the pieces of ordnance, each as in its own proper bed, and being slung on mules, they were thus carried over the steepest heights. The military chest was sufficiently provided for the actual passage of the Alps, and that perilous undertaking once accomplished, Buonaparte trusted to the resources of Italy for further supplies. To gain the goodwill of the Italians, he brought with him the Italian legion, commanded by one Lecchi, who, to escape from the fury of the Austrians, had fled into France on the defeat of Scherer, and had there collected a brave and handsome troop. For points of local knowledge, he also brought with him the best-informed Italians, and with the intention of crossing the Great St. Bernard, he consulted more especially with Pavetti of Romano in Canavese, a youth of a generous nature, who exerted himself with zeal in the cause of liberty.

To a supreme degree master of the art of seduction, the first Consul gave out that he returned to Italy, in order to found a well-regulated liberty in Lombardy, to give peace to Naples and Tuscany, to restore religion, to protect the clergy, and, finally, to reinstate the Roman Pontiff in his rightful seat. To all he spoke of peace, of humanity, of the termination of existing evils, of an age of prosperity about to commence for the general happiness of the human race. Staying a short time at Geneva, he there appeared so mild, so disposed to re-establish every thing that was just and right, according to the ancient forms, that the Genevese magistrates, deceived by his plausible words, ventured to speak of independence, and of the restoration of their ancient territory, which had been united as an integral part to France. But here the matter rested; and they were taught by his reply that if he loved to take, he loved also to keep. This passed, the suavity of his manner was re-assumed, and he professed himself willing to sacrifice his life if peace could be so obtained. In truth, he appeared so dull, so pale, and so meagre, that every one

thought that he must make peace quickly, if he really wished to witness it; so much did he seem to wear out his mind and body by unceasing labour for the benefit of France and of Europe generally. Unwearied in his cajoleries, he talked of Saussure, of Bonnet, of Sennebier; of Rousseau he said nothing. He expressed himself desirous of restoring science and literature to the honours they had been deprived of by the war, and the Genevese were astonished to find such love of peaceful studies in a soldier, for they did not penetrate his humour, nor did they perceive that, wishing to make the age retrograde, he would, nevertheless, promote its advancement, until he should become its master.

Buonaparte's plan for the re-conquest of Italy was vast and magnificent. He proposed to cross the Great St. Bernard with the main body of the army, descending thence by the valley of Aosta into the Piedmontese plains. General Thureau, with a squadron of three or four thousand men, was ordered to march from the Maurienne and Upper Dauphiny, over Mount Cenis and Mount Ginevre, as far as Susa, and further, if necessary,

for the purposes of encouraging a rising in that district against the Austrians, of alarming the people for the safety of Turin, and of co-operating with the force the Consul intended to assemble on the banks of the Dora. General Moncey was to descend at the same time by the lesser St. Bernard, with a chosen body of twelve thousand men, for the purpose of raising the country on the upper part of the plain of Lombardy, between the Tesino and the Adda. To favour a rising in the district between the Tesino and the Sesia, General Bethancourt was ordered to cross the Simplon, and to descend by Domo d'Ossola to the shores of the Lago Maggiore; where, narrowing its expanse, it permits the waters of the Tesino to flow from it. A detachment of five thousand men were to cross the lesser St. Bernard, and meet the main body in the valley of Aosta, as the nature and the amount of the difficulties which a large body of men would encounter in crossing the great St. Bernard were well known to the Consul. Altogether the troops amounted to about sixty thousand men. Thus the Consul embraced the whole of the Alpine region which extends from St.

Gothard to Mount Ginevre, and threatened with invasion the plain of Piedmont and that of Lombardy. On the other hand, he hoped that Massena, keeping his ground in Genoa, and Suchet in the Riviera, would detain Melas till he himself should come up to attack him both on his flank and on his rear. Bold and wonderful, as we have already said, was this undertaking of the Consul, but it might have drawn on him speedy and utter ruin, if Moreau had been defeated on the Rhine, or if Melas had been more prudent, more active, or better informed.

Having deluded the civilized Genevese, by his flattering discourses of peace, of benevolence, and courtesy, the First Consul set forth on his stupendous enterprize, his forces being already assembled at Martigny, in the Valais, a district situated at the foot of the Great St. Bernard. The soldiers gazed on the aerial summits of the lofty mountain with wonder and impatience, while, in the enthusiasm of the moment, the General-in chief, Berthier, thus addressed them : “ The army of the Rhine has won glorious victories, and in Italy our fellow-soldiers have fought

with undaunted courage against superior numbers. Be you incited by their example to gain once more the mastery of those lands beyond the Alps, which already bear testimony to Gallic valour: soldiers, as yet untried in fight, behold the standards of battle! Go! and aspire to equal the veterans, victors of so many combats! learn from them to brave—from them to overcome, the hardships inseparable from war; and ever bear in mind that by valour, by discipline alone, can success be obtained. Soldiers, Buonaparte is with you; he comes to behold the fresh triumphs of his former companions. To Buonaparte prove that you are still the same brave men who, under his command, have always gained resplendent glory, and a name of universal renown. France, nay, the whole human race demand peace from your efforts. Give, then, by your noble deeds in arms, peace to France and to mankind.”

These words inflamed to excess the minds of soldiers already so ardent and so brave by nature.

On the 17th of May, the whole body set out

from Martigny for the conquest of Italy. Extraordinary was their ardour, wonderful their gaiety, and astonishing also the activity and the energy of their operations. Chests, coffers, troughs, cannon, wheel-carriages, sledges, barrows, litters, horses, mules, harnesses, saddles, baggage and ammunition, of every description, piled on pack-saddles, were assembled in one motley mass; in the midst of which the soldiers laboured to the utmost, while the officers, sparing no bodily exertion, were not less zealous and unremitting in their efforts. Laughter and song lightened their toils, repartees or good-humoured raillery passed from mouth to mouth: as if by common consent, however, they spared each other, and whatever was bitter in sarcasm, or pungent in wit, was directed against the Austrians. Thus proceeding, they seemed to be hastening, not to a fearful war, but to a festival; not to a dubious hazard, but to certain victory. The multitude of various and mingled sounds were re-echoed from hill to hill, and the silence of these solitary and desert regions, which revolving ages had left

undisturbed, was for a moment broken by the rejoicing voices of the gay and warlike.

The strange army, thus strangely assembled for the dangerous expedition, began the ascent by the steep hill in front of the hamlet of St. Pierre, which leads to the road passable for carriages. Precipitous heights, strong torrents, sloping vallies, succeeded each other with disheartening frequency. The prompt exertions of the soldiers were every instant demanded, to save the various vehicles which conveyed the artillery, from rolling down the precipices; and now supporting, now heaving and dragging the ordnance, they laboured unceasingly; while the more they laboured the more did the merriment of their jests and the ingenuity of their repartees increase. The slow-paced Valenses collected in crowds from their houses, or more properly speaking, from their huts and caves; and, seeing a body of men so laboriously employed and yet so gay, they were lost in wonder, and could scarcely believe but that they were beings of another world. Being invited to

lend their assistance, and paid for their aid, they rendered it willingly, but not three of their number could effect as much as the zeal of a single Frenchman. I should be unwilling to repeat all that the soldiers jestingly said to these good people, as to the tardiness of their movements, and the strange fashion of their attire.

In this manner the republicans reached St. Pierre. Lannes, with his division, arrived first; for, owing to his incredible boldness and ardour, he was always chosen by the Consul to take the lead in every enterprize of danger—an honourable distinction, which he not only willingly accepted, but anxiously sought. They had now reached an elevation, where skill or courage seemed as nothing against the potency of nature. From St. Pierre to the summit of the Great St. Bernard there is no beaten road whatever, until is reached the monastery of the religious order devoted to the preservation of travellers bewildered in these regions of eternal winter; narrow and winding paths, over steep and rugged mountains, alone present themselves to the eye. But here the pertinacity of human resolution, the power of

human ingenuity shone conspicuous. Every means that could be devised was adopted for transporting the artillery and baggage; the carriages which had been wheeled, were now dragged, those which had been drawn, were carried; the largest cannon were placed in troughs and sledges, and the smallest slung on strong and sure-footed mules. And thus this same passage, which Trivulzi accomplished in the severest season of the year, hauling up the artillery of Francis the First, from rock to rock, over the wintry barriers, Buonaparte effected in the service of the republic by means of sledges, carriages, and beasts of burden.

The ascent to be accomplished was immense: in the windings of the tortuous paths the troops were now lost, and now revealed to sight. Those who first mounted the steeps, seeing their companions in the depths below, cheered them on with shouts of triumph; they answered in turn, and thus excited each other to their perilous and laborious task. The vallies on every side re-echoed to their voices. Amidst the snow, in mists and clouds, the resplendent arms and coloured uni-

forms of the soldiers appeared in bright and dazzling contrast; the sublimity of dead nature, and the energy of living action thus united, formed a spectacle of surpassing wonder. The Consul exulting in the success of his plans, was seen every where amongst the soldiery, talking with military familiarity to one, and now to another; and, skilled in the eloquence of camps, he so excited their courage, that, braving every obstacle, they now deemed that easy, which had been judged impossible. They soon approached the highest summit, and discerned in the distance the pass which leads from the opening between two towering mountains, to the loftiest pinnacle. With shouts of transport the soldiers hailed this extreme point as the termination of their labours, and with renewed ardour prepared to ascend. The Consul proposed their pausing to rest awhile from their fatigues, but rejecting the proffered indulgence, they replied; "*Let not that give you any concern, but only have a care to ascend yourself, and leave the rest to us.*" When their strength occasionally flagged under excess of fatigue, they beat their drums, and then

reanimated by the spirit-stirring sound, proceeded forward with fresh vigour. At last they reached the summit, and there felicitated each other, as if after complete and assured victory.

Their hilarity was not a little increased by finding a simple repast prepared in front of the monastery, the provident Consul having furnished the monks with money to supply what their own resources could not have afforded for such numbers. Here they were regaled with wine, and bread and cheese, and enjoyed a brief repose, amidst dismounted cannon and scattered baggage—amidst ice and conglomerated snow, while the monks passed from troop to troop in turn, the calm of religious cheerfulness depicted on their countenances. Thus did goodness and power meet, and hold communion on this extreme summit. Discoursing with the pious brethren, Buonaparte dwelt upon their own benevolence—on his wish to re-instate the Pope—to give security and the means of support to the clergy, and due authority to religion. He spoke of himself and of kings modestly—of peace desirously. The good hermits, unskilled in the art, and without either the

habit of feigning, or occasion to dissemble, believed him in every thing. As for him, whether affected by the piety of these holy brethren—by the sublimity of this lonely mountain, he suffered his sentiments to change, and bent his mind to desire, with earnest sincerity, that which he had expressed from calculating policy, I know not, nor would I dare to judge; for if, on the one hand, the moral and physical influence of the scene was persuasive to good; on the other, his disposition was marked by an incredible degree of pertinacity, and a scornful contempt of human nature. He rested but one hour in this benign asylum, and then commanded the advance of the troops.

They turned their steps towards the quarter where the Italian sky began to appear; and if the ascent had been laborious and perilous, the descent was still more fatiguing and hazardous, because the snow, touched by a milder air, began to thaw, and afforded but an uncertain support, and insecure footing; besides which, the mountain was much more precipitous on this than on the northern side; and it too frequently hap-

pened, that both men and horses, by the snow sliding from under them, were precipitated into the deep vallies, and, whelmed in the snowy abyss beneath, found burial ere life was yet extinct. The fatigue and danger the soldiers now underwent was incredible, and the progress they made but trifling. At last, growing impatient, they agreed to choose the summit where the snow was most solid, and to slide down from thence to Etrubles. The danger was great, but not less great was the merriment which accompanied the velocity of their grotesque flight, as they glided rapidly through the crumbling snow. In this manner the soldiers and officers of the main body, with the Consul himself, reached the point of their destination in safety, while those charged with the baggage joined them a little later, by a more circuitous route. When they were at length re-united at Etrubles, the expression of one common sentiment of joy at their success and safety spread from rank to rank; and, looking upward, towards the icy and rugged summits, they could scarcely yet believe that an entire army, with all its incumbrances, could have made

its way over barriers thus horribly deformed by the convulsions of distant ages, and sternly closed by the rigours of perpetual winter; but most of all they admired the constancy and the powerful mind of the Consul; and, from this prosperous commencement auguring well for the success of all his future enterprises, they could not but think, that to him who had overcome the perils of the Great St. Bernard all other undertakings would prove comparatively easy. And now they began to breathe the soft airs of Italy: the snows were half dissolved—the torrents flowed with increased volume—the dead rocks put on fresh verdure. Recalled to the recollection of their former campaigns by the genial influence of the balmy sky, the veteran soldiers shouted “Italy!” and, in glowing language, described to the young conscripts all that that name recalled. Speakers and hearers were quickly touched by an equal degree of enthusiasm; the one longing as much to revisit, as the other to behold, that land of beauty. To the former, memory recalled images already proved true by experience—to the latter, imagination depicted them enlarged and

brightened. Their force of purpose became most efficacious; and, to the enamoured fancy of these intrepid spirits Italy seemed to be already won—they thought not of battle, but of victory.

Their success, however, depended entirely on celerity. The Alpine regions they had reached were sterile, and the pass of St. Bernard, yet to be accomplished, was hazardous. It was necessary to descend at once to the plain, without affording Melas time to anticipate their arrival. It was also important, to prevent the rumour which had been industriously propagated of the return of the French, from diminishing. The Consul therefore descended hastily by the banks of the river Dora; and the van-guard sent on to reconnoitre, under the command of Lannes, reduced some places of small importance, and easily gained possession of the town of Aosta and the lands of Chatillon.

But a rude obstacle presented itself in the fortress of Bard, which, by its situation, is the key to the pass commanding the road in the narrow gorge which the valley forms at that spot. Pavetti had represented the reduction of that for-

tress, to the Consul, as an easy undertaking, so anxiously did he desire that the French should pass through the valley of Aosta, in order that his native district might be the first to be restored, as he believed, to liberty; but the result proved that an insignificant rock might be a powerful obstacle in the way of mighty designs. The Austrian commander refusing to surrender, the French endeavoured to take it by assault, but in vain; they planted their cannon against it, but without effect. The impetuous generals, chafing and fretting to find their progress arrested by a narrow rock, and a handful of soldiers, the garrison consisting of only 400 men, could not brook the affront of being thus stopped by the insignificant fortress of Bard—they whom neither the strength of Mantua, nor the eternal snows of the enormous St. Bernard could impede. They were aware that their march was already known in the plain, and that Melas, giving up this useless enterprise on the Varo, was hastening to support there the declining fortunes of Austria. Besides, the valley of Aosta was poor and sterile, unequal to the support of such an army, for

whom no supplies had been prepared, and which began already to feel the approach of want. In vain they consulted to find a remedy: none presented itself. They battered the rock from the houses of the valley, they battered it from the belfry of the church with no effect, it was so well defended, and the peculiar stone it was built of was so hard that its strength defied all their efforts.

At length, finding it impossible to take the fortress, they resolved to seek a passage in another direction. To the left of Bard rise the irregular summits of Mount Albaredo, the highest part of which commanding the fortress, though the lowest is commanded by it. Berthier suggested the possibility of crossing by the upper range. In less than two days they cut steps in the steepest and hardest rocks, built parapets on the edge of the precipices, and threw bridges over the chasms, so that a path was now open beyond the reach of the guns of the fortress. This work was truly astonishing, and worthy of being commemorated in history. The men passed with security; but the artillery and baggage could not be

conveyed by so narrow and steep a path; and Lannes, who had already reached Ivrea, ran the risk of being attacked by the Austrians before the arrival of the cannon, without which no other arms avail in modern warfare. The pertinacity of the Consul had commanded a fresh assault of the fortress, which had had a disastrous result. Great was the danger on every side, for the time admitted of no delay; when, in the critical moment, Marmont devised a new stratagem:—he strewed the road they were to pass with manure and straw, wrapped the axles of the wheels with bands of hay, and, the carriages being drawn quickly along during the night, the ordnance happily cleared the gorge of the defile. When the Austrian commander became aware of the stratagem practised by the enemy, he opened a tremendous fire; but the celerity of their movements, and the darkness of the night, prevented the republicans from suffering any material loss in this extraordinary passage; and now, with all the implements of war at their command, they prepared to invade the Piedmontese territory. A short time after, Chabran, descending by the Lesser St. Bernard,

forced the commandant of Bard to capitulate, but granted the garrison their lives and effects, on condition of their not again bearing arms till an exchange of prisoners should take place.

Whilst the main body of the French army now debouched by Ivrea, the other divisions had not been idle; but, concurring in the execution of the general plan, had reached the stations appointed by the Consul. Bethancourt, descending by the Simplon, had made himself master of Domo d'Ossola; Moncey, quartered at Bellinzona, approached Lugano, and the banks of the Tesino, and the Adda. Thureau, still nearer at hand, scouring the country in the neighbourhood of the capital of Piedmont, had appeared first at Susa, then, marching on, had shown himself at Avigliana, after having captured a considerable number of the Austrians, who had endeavoured to block up his passage by occupying the lofty rocks where, before the war, the impregnable fortress of Brunetta had been situated:—such was the storm that the unparalleled design of the Consul drew down on every side on that tract of country which is comprised between the Dora and the Adda. The

Consul proposed to proceed to Milan by forced marches, justly believing that he should there find partisans, provisions, and money; and he hoped also, by his unexpected appearance, to surprise and overpower the dispersed bodies of Austrians, who dreamed of any thing rather than of his approach. He had also reason to believe that by occupying the banks of the Adige he should cut off from Melas the possibility of seeking the secure retreat of the Tyrol. Still more ably conceived was the idea of sending Lannes towards Chivasso, in order to persuade Melas that an attack on Turin was intended; and, his plans being thus arranged, the Consul took the necessary means for their execution.

Fearing an attack on Turin, the Austrians had placed an advanced guard on the bridge over the Chiusella, to the right of which they had planted four batteries, to prevent the enemy gaining this passage. This bridge being very long and narrow, it was difficult to gain possession of it. Lannes commanded his bravest troops to advance full speed, in hopes to force it by the impetus of a first attack; but the German artil-

lery swept the bridge; and the musketry, on their flank, showered such a fiery tempest, that the lacerated and bleeding troops were forced to retire. A fresh trial occasioned a fresh repulse. Twice again Lannes renewed the contest; and the result of each attempt became more and more fatal: still he persisted undismayed, although without effecting his purpose. In this emergency, Pavetti, who knew the ground perfectly, because the combat took place almost under the walls of his native Romano, informed the French general that to the left of the bridge there was a spot that might easily be forded, at the same time offering to guide the division himself. They accordingly forded the river with successful daring, and appeared unexpectedly on the right of the enemy, on which a mortal struggle ensued.

The Austrian commander, Palfi, received a deadly wound, whilst standing close to the bridge, encouraging his troops—an accident which gave victory to the French; who now, driving back the Austrians in turn, gained possession of that post. The defeated party effected a junction with their rear-guard on the heights of Romano,

esteemed the worst, and the newest the best. In the present instance, however, the domination of the Germans had not been of the mildest kind; and that, not because in its own nature oppressive (with the exception of the affair of the prisoners at the mouths of the Cattaro), but because, in endeavouring to restore the ancient order of things, they had disturbed property, and offended public opinion. The heads of administration were fully persuaded that the return of the French was impossible: they therefore governed according to that belief; and their measures paved the way for fresh revolutions. Buonaparte now re-organised the Cisalpine republic: his ordinances commanded the public celebration of the rites of the Catholic church; enjoined respect to religion; and, in some cases of extreme culpability, menaced sacrilegious offenders even with the punishment of death. He established the security of property; recalled the exiled; annulled the sentences of confiscation; and forbade the notes of the bank of Vienna to pass current in future. Having thus planted in Milan the foundations of his power, he applied

himself anew to military affairs; for, although the campaign had so far been prosperous, its ultimate success was still undecided. The army of Melas was yet unbroken and entire on the right bank of the Po, while, at Genoa, Massena had been obliged to yield to the fortune of the confederates. Of this latter circumstance, however, the Consul was not then aware; and, believing his situation to be more secure than it really was, he sent out detachments to secure the districts of Lodi, Cremona, Bergamo, and Crema, where the French had formerly been seen, by the inhabitants with extreme satisfaction. His intention was then to cross the Po suddenly, and to cut off from Melas all possibility of retreat; Lannes, in the meantime, by a sudden incursion, had made himself master of Pavia, where he found provisions in abundance and a considerable quantity of arms.

By the loss of Milan, Melas had been made aware of the danger of his own situation and of the strength of the enemy; and, seeing that there was no means of escape except by a pitched battle and complete victory, he endeavoured to

draw the war to the neighbourhood of Alexandria, on account of the support he should there receive from the citadel and the fort of Tortona. When he reached Alexandria, he commanded Ebnitz, who had recently arrived from the Riviera,* to join him, and sent Otto, who, by the reduction of Genoa, was now left free to act, to Piacenza, in order to defend the passage of the river. But Murat anticipated Otto; and, although vigorously opposed, effected the passage, and possessed himself of Piacenza. At the same time Lannes crossed at Stradella, and pitched his camp at San Cipriano. Otto retired on Casteggio and Montebello. On the 9th of June, an obstinate contest took place at these two towns, which was but the prelude to another and fiercer combat, superior in force, and pregnant with more important results. Otto had posted the main body of his forces at Casteggio; had planted a strong battery on the right; had stationed his cavalry lower down, towards the plain; and had left a small body of reserve at Montebello. The French, led by Watrin, bore down on the Germans with tre-


* Of Genoa.

mendous impetus, but were received by them with no less steadiness. The event was doubtful for a long time, as the republicans several times gained possession of the steep hills at Casteggio, but were as often driven from them. For some hours, the Imperialists kept possession of this point, principally by the co-operation of the cavalry, which, issuing from behind the hedges, where they had remained in shelter, charged the enemy with fury. Watrin, thus broken, retreated with loss, and the battle would have been decided against the French but for the opportune arrival of Generals Chambarlhac and Rivaud, who, having been dispatched by Lannes, had forced their way to the scene of action through every obstacle. The latter entering into the midst of the fight, checked the progress of the enemy, and, giving fresh courage to the troops of Watrin, incited them to renew the attack: the Germans, however, defended themselves obstinately. In this critical moment, a large body of fresh troops, under Lannes, rushing impetuously into the heat of the battle, (as they were ever wont), forced the enemy to yield, and repulsing

them from Casteggio, drove them back to Montebello: but here, Otto steadily maintaining his ground, the combat raged more fiercely than ever, and the Germans were again beginning to prevail, when Buonaparte, who at this crisis appeared on the field, commanded Victor to charge the main body of the enemy with seven fresh battalions. The fury of the combat was now at its acme, for the Austrians defended the bridge with a strong train of artillery, which swept across it, whilst the French endeavoured to drive them from it at the point of the bayonet. This strife of fire and steel lasted for a time, (for the Austrians bravely supported the onset) till by the march of the divisions of Geney and Rivaud from the further extremity of the field Otto found himself nearly hemmed in on every side, and therefore retired to Voghera, leaving a garrison of about a thousand soldiers in the fortress of Tortona. The loss of the Austrians in this action was great, both in killed and prisoners, yet less by half than the numbers stated in the bulletins of Berthier. The French also lost considerably in killed—scarcely less than

their adversaries, but of their number very few were taken. Such was the battle of Casteggio, which lasted from seven in the morning till eight in the evening.

The difficulties of the passage of the Alps being surmounted by skill and courage, Lombardy suddenly over-run, the name of the Cisalpine republic revived, and the minds of the people roused to deeds of daring by an extraordinary enterprise, it still remained to confirm this auspicious commencement by some decisive battle, and thus secure to Buonaparte both the supreme authority in France and the absolute empire of Italy. If the conquest of this country, made by the conjoined efforts of Kray, Suwarrow, and Melas, had been quickly accomplished, it remained to be seen if the French leader could not effect the re-conquest more speedily still. Melas, as we have already related, had assembled his forces under the walls of Alexandria, in the strong position between the Bormida and the Tanaro. With an army of 40,000 men, strong in artillery, in chosen cavalry, in tried and disciplined infantry, he was in all respects well



making but a feigned and feeble resistance. This circumstance ought to have made Buonaparte aware that Melas, so far from meditating a distant march to Genoa, thought only of contesting the issue in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. However, being obstinate to an extreme in his ideas, he persisted in the belief that the Austrians intended to withdraw into Liguria, until in the end his scouts brought him intelligence from Rivalta and the banks of the Po, which removed his erroneous impressions, and convinced him that the mighty contest would be decided in the Alexandrian, and not in the Ligurian territory. He therefore commanded Boudet and Monnier to return in haste to the main body; but they were then so far distant that it was probable they would not arrive till the battle would be decided.

On the 14th of June, at five in the morning, Melas crossed the eventful Bormida. Esnitz, with the light infantry, and the chief strength of the cavalry, moving to the left of the Imperialists, marched towards Castel Ceriolo, by the road which leads to Sale, because the intention of the

Austrian commander was to take the French in the rear on that side, in order to cut them off from Pavia and Tortona, whence they communicated with the detachments on the left bank of the Po. Keim, with the heavy troops, moved towards the village of Marengo, by which the road to Tortona passes: this was the centre. A third division on the right, commanded by Haddick, with a body of Hungarian grenadiers led by Otto, were to ascend the left bank of the Bormida, to draw off at Fragarolo, and to join the centre near Tortona. He foresaw (and this was in fact the intention on both sides) that the principal struggle would be for the possession of Marengo, because all the movements of the French were directed to that point. The Austrian infantry was preceded by a formidable train of artillery, its harsh thunder giving fearful warning of the severe and murderous contest that was about to take place. Against this overpowering force the French were not equally matched in the early part of the combat; for, owing to the improvidence of the Consul,

Monnier was far off on the right, and Demix on the left.

All their hopes, therefore, rested on the division of Victor, which was tolerably strong, at Marengo, and on that of Lannes stationed to the left of the road to Tortona. To these may be added about nine hundred soldiers of the consular guard, the cavalry under the command of the younger Keilermann, the squadron under Champeaux, and lastly, that under Murat. The first covered the infantry of Victor; the second, that under Lannes; and the last, posted at the extreme right of the whole front, guarded the road which led to Sale. Thus the French line of battle commencing at the Bormida, and obliquely seceding from it, passed by Marengo, and extended as far as Castel Ceriolo. Keim encountering Gardanne, who had been dispatched by Victor to Pietrabuona, an insignificant place between Marengo and the Bormida, bore him down with an overwhelming force. The remains of the routed band retired in disorder towards Marengo, and they would have been entirely surrounded and taken, if Victor had not

quickly sent Chambarlhac to their rescue. The Austrians came up and engaged in a horrible contest with Victor: here on both sides were performed deeds of stupendous valour; at last fortune inclined towards that (Keim) which had the superiority in numbers and artillery. Keim triumphantly entered Marengo; but though discomfited, Victor's ranks were not disordered, but in unbroken mass they still presented a menacing front to the enemy, and drew up behind Marengo. He was joined by Lannes on the right, and the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than ever. Keim was opposed to Lannes, Haddick to Victor; and whoever considers the temper of these generals, and that of their troops, will easily believe that never was a combat distinguished by greater skill or valour than this. Lannes was ably seconded in his attack on Keim by Champeaux and his cavalry, who in this *melée* received a mortal wound, of which he died a few days after. Kellermann with his squadron effectually supported Victor, leading on charge after charge in ceaseless succession. Notwithstanding this, Victor, having

been from the first in action, and Gardanne having suffered much in the affair of Pietra-buona, his troops were so exhausted, and his ranks so thinned, that he yielded the post at last, and retired precipitately, and not without some disorder, to St. Julian. Deprived on his left flank of the support of Victor, Lannes was also constrained to fall back, which allowed Keim to become still more master of the field, and led him to believe himself in secure possession of the victory. During this time, Ebnitz had occupied Castel Ceriolo with the light infantry, and, with his horse, had extended his ranks in hopes of falling on the rear of the two bodies of the receding republicans; and if this design had succeeded, it would without doubt have given the victory to the Imperialists.

In this perilous situation, the only resource the Consul possessed was in the nine hundred soldiers of his own guard and in Murat's cavalry, which were certainly not able to make head alone against the numerous cavalry of Ebnitz: he therefore commanded the advance of the nine hundred guards. I know not whether I ought most to laud their prowess, or condemn

the incapacity of Esnitz ; but certain it is, that the German general, although he had hemmed them in on every side, was never able to break them ; for, either he did not do all that he ought to have done, or the nine hundred did more than could be deemed possible. So numerous were the light troops under Esnitz, that he might have left a small part to have kept this consular guard in check, and might have made a spirited attack on the rear of the squadrons which were giving way. This, however, he did not do, but persisted in attacking this small body of the enemy with his whole force ; but whether it arose from cowardice or error, this conduct on the part of Esnitz, and the heroism of the consular guard, who had obeyed the summons of the Consul with all possible speed, gave Monnier time to arrive from Castel Nuovo. He first came in contact with the troops of Esnitz ; and, though surrounded by their numbers, he cut his way through them, gallantly assisted by the brave guard. St. Cyr, having driven the Tyrolese from Castel Ceriolo, made himself master of the village, and, with stakes and barricades, quickly entrenched himself there. Esnitz endeavoured to drive him

out, but in vain: fortune however favoured him at this moment—Monnier and the consular guard were obliged to retreat; but, instead of following up his advantage, and pursuing the yielding enemy, he obstinately persisted in his attack on Castel Ceriolo. He was, however, constantly repulsed by St. Cyr, who kept him so long at bay, that this general was now the salvation of the whole French army, as the consular guard had been in the first instance: they, by their persevering resistance, had given time for the arrival of Monnier; while his skill and courage procured a delay that allowed Desaix to join the action. Melas in the mean time, hoping to profit by the favourable opportunity which fortune had afforded him, had sent forward his right wing, with the five thousand Hungarian grenadiers, in order to prevent the French from making head at St. Julian, to which place their movements seemed to be directed. It appeared probable, that the troops under Keim, already triumphant, and those of Esmitz, half victors on the one side, and half conquered on the other, would suffice for this object; but to ensure success, and to provide for the emergency which the

arrival of Desaix might occasion, Melas sent on the Hungarians far before the rest, of whom as the body to whom the victory belonged, Zach, the quarter-master of the whole Austrian camp, took the command.

It was now five in the evening : the combat had already lasted for more than ten hours. The conquering Austrians exulted in success, while slender hope of recovery remained to the French, and that only in Desaix. The inhabitants of Alexandria believed that the arms of Austria had already obtained a decided victory, because the tremendous sounds which had spread terror within their walls in the morning had become more and more distant ; and the sound of the battle-tumult now but faintly reached their ears. The Consul himself despaired ; nor did he show, in this crisis of the battle, the presence of mind, the fortitude, or, in any respect, the temper worthy of him who had formed the admirable plan of this second invasion of Italy. As if bereaved of all judgment, he was wholly engrossed by the intense anxiety with which he watched for the arrival of Desaix. Whilst he still hesitated, filled with fears as great as his hopes were feeble, intelligence was brought

him that the first ranks of Desaix's squadron were beginning to appear at St. Julian; and now all his ardour returned. Any other than himself would, in a situation thus desperate, have made use of this reinforcement to secure a retreat; but the bold and all-powerful Consul employed it to renew the battle, and re-gain the victory. He now changed the order of his line; so that, diverging obliquely from Castel Ceriolo to St. Julian, St. Cyr was placed at the extreme point on the right, whilst first Monnier, and then Lannes, proceeded on the left towards St. Julian; and at this last place, across the road to Tortona, was Desaix stationed. The cavalry of Kellermann was posted in front, and the field was between Desaix and Lannes. Esnitz not having effected with his cavalry and infantry what Melas had expected, against the French right wing, the Austrian commander dispatched the 5000 Hungarians under Zach against their left, hoping that this compact body of powerful men would be able to break them, and to cut them off from the road towards Tortona. The Hungarian column, on which the fortune of the day depended, confident

in its strength, marched boldly against Desaix. The latter allowed them to approach before he fired; but, when they were within reach of his guns, he thundered on them with the artillery Marmont had assembled in front, and then discharged his own. For the first moment, dismayed by this severe reception, the Hungarians made a brief pause, but, quickly recovering from the shock, they marched on as if one solid and invincible mass. Nor could the French, being lighter-bodied troops, succeed in arresting their progress, although they surrounded them, and struggled against them with their utmost energy. The case here was similar to the battle of Fontenoy. Desaix, wholly undismayed by the danger, placed himself in front, reconnoitring the country to discover whether it afforded any advantage of ground, by which he might profit; when, struck on the breast by a ball from a musket, he found an almost instantaneous death. His last words to Lebrun (the generous son of a generous father) were these: "*Go and tell the Consul that I die grieving only that I have not done enough to live in the memory of posterity.*" Boudet succeeded

Desaix in the command ; and neither was he himself disheartened by this grievous disaster, nor did his soldiers lose their courage ; but, on the contrary, the desire of revenge stimulating spirits naturally valiant, they threw themselves on the five thousand with irresistible fury. Nor did the Hungarians succumb. It was a fearful and a mortal strife. The republicans were beginning to lose ground ; their situation seemed desperate. But fortune decreed that the salvation of France should arise on the brink of utter ruin ; and Kellermann was destined to effect the important rescue. In fact, whilst Boudet, who still endeavoured to maintain his ground in front, began, notwithstanding, to give way, Kellermann, with all the weight of his cavalry, attacked the Hungarian mass in flank, and, charging in between and across their files, divided the column in handfuls, and totally disordered it. Their ranks broken, their lines lost, intermingled with the French, entangled with one another, there remained to them no order, nor any means of defence. And hence, Kellermann continuing to press on them more vigorously, and Boudet returning to the

retreating squadrons, and then sought shelter beyond the Bormida. The French took up the same quarters they had occupied before the battle. Of the Imperialists there were killed 4,000 able veterans who had served in the Italian campaigns, 7,000 were wounded, and 8,000 remained prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The French loss was 3,000 killed, and 4,000 wounded, but few were made prisoners, because of the number taken in the early part of the day the major part were liberated by their fellow-soldiers at the moment of their unexpected victory.

This battle, which changed the lot of Europe for fourteen years, was rather gained by the French than by Buonaparte, the valour of the soldiery having retrieved the mistake of the commander. The victory was principally owing, first to Cara St. Cyr, by his having taken and kept Castel Ceriolo; to Victor, by his obstinate defence of Marengo; to Boudet by his firm resistance of the Hungarian body; and finally, and above all, to the able and gallant Kellermann, who, seizing the opportune moment, did not hesitate to charge into the midst of that unbroken and solid mass,

Zach merits encomium; but his imprudence deserves censure, in having advanced too far amongst the enemy. As for Esnitz, it does not appear that he accomplished what Melas had charged him to effect, or fulfilled the expectations which had been formed of him. He persisted in assaulting small bodies of troops, and insignificant points of attack strongly fortified,—a service for which light-armed squadrons are wholly unfit, instead of scouring the plain, and falling on the enemy in flank and rear, the service best adapted to the troops he commanded, and which would have been acting conformably to the orders he had received from Melas.

The Austrian Generalissimo had still force sufficient, after the battle, to make an effectual stand in the strong position in which he had entrenched himself; a resolution he might the more easily have executed, for, being sufficiently well provided in cavalry, he possessed the means of scouring the country to procure provisions: but, whether intimidated by his recent defeat, or deceived by the arts of Buonaparte, who constantly asserted his willingness to adhere to the

treaty of Campo Formio, and his desire to bestow on every territory under his command a form of government less oppressive to the people, and fraught with less danger to princes, Melas showed no disposition to make further resistance, and demanded a truce. The terms were glorious to France, humiliating to Austria, and alarming to Europe at large. All offensive operations were discontinued until the arrival of the definitive answer of the Court of Vienna. The Imperial army took up its station between the Mincio, Fossa Maestra, and the Po; occupied Peschiera, Mantua, Borgoforte, and the right of the river Ferrara, retaining also possession of Tuscany; while the republicans occupied the country between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po; but the tract between the Chiesa and the Mincio was exempt from the soldiers of either party. The fortresses of Tortona, Alexandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighettone, of Arona, and Piacenza, were consigned to the republicans; Cuneo, the castles of Ceva and Savona, Genoa, and the strong Urbano fell also into their possession. Those who had shown themselves favourable to the Austrians, either by

expressed opinions, or services rendered to them, were not to be in any way held responsible, nor to be molested ; and such of the Cisalpine republicans as had been incarcerated on account of their political opinions were to be set at liberty. Whatever might be the answer from Vienna, hostilities were not to be re-commenced till ten days after its arrival ; nor during the truce was either party to send troops into Germany. Such were the terms agreed on at Alexandria ; and thus did one French victory destroy the fruits of twenty German or Russian triumphs. The truce, which was several times renewed by common consent, at an interval of ten days, was finally, by a new and express convention, definitively extended to the twenty-fifth of November.

The victor of Marengo had the fate of Europe in his hands,—happiness or misery, peace or war, civilization or barbarism, the liberty or slavery of nations. Civil glory, equal to his military renown, now awaited him ; but a passion for war-like fame, and a wild and untameable lust of power, left no scope for pacific virtues,—a circumstance for ever to be deplored. He was

received at Milan in triumph : there they called him the unparalleled man, the matchless hero, the incomparable model, with every other praise, that Italian adulation best knows how to invent ; while France, on her part, re-echoed these flatteries. The good Milanese boasted that he was come to give new liberty to his beloved Cisalpine people. He himself spoke much of peace, of religion, of literature, and of science. He formed in that capital a legislative council, and a commission of government with executive power, and created a minister-extraordinary of France, giving this office to one Petiet, who had been minister of war in the time of the Directory. To the delight of all the worthy, he re-opened the University of Pavia, that had been closed by the suspicious Germans. To the professors, whom he selected amongst the most celebrated, the most learned, and the most virtuous men, he granted liberal stipends, so that the University flourished with fresh vigour, and the times of Joseph the Second seemed to have returned ; yet the military domination under which they lived showed the people that the age was far different.

All the while his proceedings differed much from what they had formerly been: he no longer caressed, but even repulsed the ardent lovers of revolution, whilst he collected round him those who were aristocratical in their sentiments, provided they were moderate in those sentiments, wealthy, and of good reputation. Melzi, Aldini, Birago, Dr. Moscati, Scarpa, the Bishop of Pavia, Gregory Fontana, Marescalchi, and Mascheroni, were distinguished by his favour. These proceedings did not please the most violent democrats, and amongst themselves they called him an aristocrat, and even a tyrant, though in public they never ceased to proclaim him a god. The new heads of the Cisalpine government placed unbounded confidence in all his actions and all his words, and promised themselves the independence of their country. For the rest, although the mode of acting was more regular, and although appearances were better preserved, yet the extortions and peculations were much the same, and Lombardy began to suffer under its former evils. When the newly elected magis-

trates took their seats, Petiet pronounced an elaborate discourse in praise of France, lauded the Consul, spoke of Beccaria, harangued on liberty, on independence, on their high and magnificent destinies, and praised Italy with rhetorical embellishments, calling her the mistress of letters, of philosophy, of politics, and asserting that she was not formed to be the tributary of a foreign prince. To this oration the president of the council replied in a similar strain.

The Cisalpine republic being thus re-organised, the Consul returned to France. He passed through Turin, where he shut himself up in the citadel, and would not allow himself to be seen, not wishing, out of respect to the Emperor Paul, who favoured the king, to suffer himself to be pledged to any promises. And certain it is, that, although his own mind was strongly averse to the proposition, he had nevertheless offered to restore Charles Emanuel to his ancient throne, on condition of his giving up Savoy and Nice. He returned also to his old idea of giving the Cisalpine territory to that king, provided he

would make an effectual renunciation of Piedmont, which he coveted with the keenest desire. This proposal, however, was not accepted by the monarch, partly from religious motives, partly because he did not wish to conclude any thing without the consent of his allies, and more especially of the Emperor Paul, and of England. Nor did he wish to give an excuse to Austria, in case the fortune of France should again retrograde, for taking possession of Piedmont; and though he had no great cause to be satisfied with her, yet he nevertheless abhorred the idea of appropriating to himself the spoils of another. Notwithstanding these proffers and these negotiations, the Consul created in Piedmont, as he had done in Lombardy, a commission of government, not as a final arrangement, but merely to intimidate. To this he promoted many men celebrated for learning and for moderation,—Galli, Bottone of Castellamonte, Braida, Avogadro, Cavalli, and Rocci, to the executive commission; and to the council, the Bishop of Novara, Capriata, the two professors Regis and Pavesio, both learned and pacific priests, Tosi,

Botta,* Lombriasco, another Avogadro, Bay, Paciudi, Nizzati, and Chiabrera. As minister extraordinary to this government, he appointed first General Dupont, and then, as a recompense to the victor of Fleurus, Jourdan.

At this time the situation of Piedmont was beyond all description miserable: an extreme scarcity, and the rapine of the soldiery, while it was occupied by the confederates, had reduced the country to great poverty; nor were the Imperial commissioners wanting in fraud and oppression; the insolence was less, but the rapacity the same. The Piedmontese knew neither what to hope, nor what to fear, nor what to desire, since change of rulers produced to them no change of fortune. They cursed their destiny, which had made them weak amongst the strong; nor was this the whole of their misfortunes. Bills of credit, long and lamentable, the plague of the country, and which were constantly diminishing in value, had placed every sort of property in confusion and doubt; every species of trade was at a stand; the prices of provisions were exces-

* The author.

sive; the poor, who had no *cedules*, for the smallest were of the value of twenty lire,* suffered immoderately. At length the evil became so great, that all traffic was carried on by barter in kind, and a tariff of relative values was published: but the mischief had been already done, and there remained all the embarrassments arising from anterior contracts. The council, although abounding in learned and able lawyers, found it a difficult task to adjust these matters, for whatever might be their assessment, no one was pleased with the sentence, however just the law might be. This was the great source of discontent; nor was it a trivial accession to their misfortunes that the heavy burthen was imposed on them of supporting the troops of France, as well those who were stationary, as those who were passing through—an expenditure too great for the finances of Piedmont. Massena, when appointed Generalissimo of Italy by the Consul, demanded a million per month for the support of the troops, and that the Piedmontese should likewise main-

* A lire in Piedmont is about fifteen pence British money.

tain the garrisons. On succeeding to Massena, Brune agreed that they should pay a million monthly, as a supply to the French military chest; but, when the million was paid, the soldiers were still in want, and Piedmont was obliged to provide the deficiency; for, if what they had need of was not given to them, they took it by force. Jourdan, who was humane and upright, wished to correct all this, but the speculators understood their business better than he did: there was no remedy, there was no peace to be had. In addition, the orders they were expected to fulfil were arbitrary and capricious: now a fortress was ordered to be demolished at the expense of the Piedmontese, and then again the same edifice was commanded to be re-built at their cost also; now the French demanded the lead of the cupola of the Superga,* which would

* The Superga is a hill five miles from Turin, commanding exquisite views of that town, the river, &c. It was here that Prince Eugene and Victor Amadeus met, in 1706, to concert the best measures for driving the French out of the capital of Piedmont. The church of the Superga was built to fulfil a vow made on this occasion by Amadeus, in case of success.

in the first place have ruined the edifice by admitting the water ; then they ordered the bastions of the royal gardens to be removed,—a useless labour, because the city was already completely dismantled ; and if it had not been for the steadiness of the governor, the Superga and the gardens, the favourite walk of the Turinese, would have been destroyed. One demanded money for the provisions of the soldiers, another for their clothing ; these for the hospitals, those for the ordnance, the roads, or the barracks. The demands were capricious, the expenditure excessive, the finances wholly exhausted ; and every thing was in turmoil and confusion.

But another misery, besides those already related, afflicted Piedmont, and rendered a well-administered government impossible. This was the uncertainty which hung over the future destiny of the country. The offers the Consul had made to the king were known, which rendered the royalists sullen, the republicans cautious : those hoped, these feared ; and between timidity in issuing orders and hesitation in obeying them, a state of anarchy ensued. When inter-

rogated, the Consul would not declare himself openly, but wrapped himself up in ambiguities. Some, from the encouragement he gave the republicans, argued that he would not give up Piedmont to the king, others judged, from that very circumstance, that he would restore Charles Emanuel: the democrats insulted the aristocrats, who in turn laughed at the republicans. The first hoped for a republican form of government, the second thought the restoration of the monarchy certain. These last had the upper hand; for not a few of the principal men who had arrived from France, for the purpose of examining into the administration of military affairs (where their superintendence was much required), lived at the houses of the chief nobility; and, either from flattery, or from the desire of appearing to belong to the old times, they continually ridiculed those who served the new government. One gave himself out for a count of ancient lineage, another for a marquis, and a third for a viscount, or, at the very least, a baron; not perceiving how thoroughly they were themselves, in turn, despised by the Piedmontese nobles, who

are so peculiarly acute and penetrating. In the mean time, these agitations deprived the government of its strength; and those very men who demanded most from its labours rendered those labours useless. This proceeded from levity and ingratitude, not from malice, for they were not capable of feeling either love or hatred. I know not whether in the midst of such grave matters I ought to speak of the folly of the democrats, who did not perceive the trap they had fallen into. I must not, however, omit to mention the return of Ranza* to Piedmont. The things that

* Ranza was a humanity professor at Vercelli, and was considered to possess both talent and learning. His strange humour afforded his countrymen so much amusement, that he was permitted to indulge his eccentric vein to the utmost: "*It is Ranza*" was esteemed a sufficient excuse for what would have been not only absurd but mischievous in another. Acknowledged extravagance is seldom dangerous. He wrote, besides diurnal pasquinades, a variety of political tracts; amongst others, "*The Catechism of Tyrants*." On the creation of the Italian kingdom, he publicly celebrated the funeral of the Cisalpine republic. His own, which took place no long time after this remarkable masquerade, which was attended by the same idle crowd, was one of the most splendid Turin had seen in modern times. When the convoy arrived

he said, and those that he printed, it is needless to speak of; they are already sufficiently known: strange to say, his greatest and worst extravagances were uttered when he was in prison, at Vigevano, in the power of the Russians, which he would also have printed if he had been able. Sometimes he wrote against the priests, sometimes against the friars, now against the aristocrats, now against the democrats, now against the government, and now against the governed. One day he made a large bonfire in the Castle-square, on which he burned the writings of a friar to whom he was opposed, the populace following him in crowds. Every day the press threw off his marvellous gazettes, and he as regularly stuck up his enormous placards against the walls himself, and as soon as it was reported that Ranza had appeared, the populace ran in crowds, trampling

at the gate of Madama, through which funerals are not allowed to pass, except on occasions of peculiar solemnity, the words "*It is Ranza*" opened wide its jealous portal to bestow an honour on extravagance which would have been denied to wisdom. Ranza's son lives at Vercelli, and has some eminence as an architect.—*Tr.*

He began to
 aristocrats in Pied-
 maintained that they
 The government, who did
 endeavoured to stop
 insisted in saying that all
 governors more so than
 dangerous part to be taken,
 say what he pleased. But
 was perverted, calumny found
 in envy, and there was no
 of ruling the people. I have
 of this Ranza, and perhaps I
 at length than was becoming,
 to do so by the idea that
 many Ranzas in Europe, and
 countries which are, or believe
 Piedmont being left uncertain, fac-
 to become more veno-
 the French interests, some
 the Piedmontese; friends hated
 enemies became reconciled: there
 opinion. An act of the Consul,

by which he gave both the Upper and Lower Novarese to the Cisalpine government, increased the uncertainty and discontent. Prina, a Novarese, then Minister of Piedmont, had been the first to suggest and advise this dismemberment of his country ; which may show what sincerity and what loyalty there was in those times. This sinister event greatly agitated men's minds in Piedmont, because they thought that Buonaparte wished to restore it to the king. The government protested against it ; and the Consul, who knew very well what he was about, expressed his wonder at all these hopes, and fears, and protestations ; but he did not explain himself, and doubt, and faction, and the difficulties of the government increased. Piedmont was the sport of a tempestuous whirlwind.

Amidst all these fatal commotions, the government, which was then called the " Executive Commission," and which consisted of Bossi, Botta, and Giulio, had the consolation of executing one useful design, which was to appropriate a sum of five hundred thousand francs of yearly revenue to the University, and to the colleges, and their

dependencies. This institution was really beneficial and magnificent, and can only be compared to that founded in the United States by the liberality of the Congress, and that established in Poland by the munificence of the Emperor Alexander.

But this was small consolation for such times, when misfortune superabounded, and the Piedmontese continued to live in disorder, in discord, in slavery, in want, till Buonaparte found the opportunity to lead them to a state of greater security.

The fate of Genoa was not less unhappy, partly from the same, partly from dissimilar causes. By the convention of Alexandria, Hohenzollern had given up Genoa, but not without having first, by the command of Melas, exacted a million from sixty of the richest merchants—a loan, as he phrased it, for the use of the army. The French, under Suchet, entered the desolated city on the 24th of June. Of what nature, and how great, are the miseries and the grievances resulting from this frequent change of masters every man can judge. The French treated

Genoa harshly, as if she had come whole and uninjured out of the hands of the Germans; the Germans had treated her harshly, as if she had come flourishing and rich out of the hands of the French.

The Consul created here, as in Lombardy and Piedmont, an executive commission, and a legislative council, and appointed General Dejean Minister Extraordinary of France. The executive commission appointed consisted of John Baptista Rossi, Augustine Maglione, Augustine Pareto, Girolamo Serra, Antonio Mongiardini, Louis Carbonara, and Louis Lupi, men illustrious for virtue, and who, amidst the disturbances of the times, conducted themselves with moderation. Nor was there less worth found in those who were selected for the council,—Louis Corvetto, Emanuel Balbi, Girolamo Durazzo, Cæsar Solari, Joseph Fravega, Nicholas Littardi, Joseph Deambrosis, with several others, to the number of thirty. At the assembling of these magistrates, the customary flatteries passed on both sides; but on this occasion, however, more on the part of the minister of France than on that of the Genoese

government. Dejean spoke of the good faith and generosity of the Consul, and pledged the fidelity of France to consolidate, at the general peace, the liberty and independence of the Ligurian republic. This was soothing language to Genoese ears, but what followed had a touch of bitterness; and this was, that if the war were renewed, the city was to contribute towards the disbursements. Much that was praiseworthy was inculcated by the minister,—oblivion of offences, and pardon to transgressors: “such was the will of the Consul, such the dictates of humanity, and such was alone the true interest of the state.” Rossi, the President, replied, not without pomp of language, but in the corrupt style of true Italian servility, that “this day was the happiest amongst the happy days of the republic; that the council would labour to secure the tranquillity and liberty of their country; that Liguria, as a maritime state, desired only peace: for the rest, the republic and the citizens were alike poor, yet comfort was derived from the promises which had been made, and from the character of the magistrates who had been elected. The destiny

of Genoa was, doubtless, brighter and more certain than that of Piedmont; for France had promised her independence; and, on this account, there was greater strength in the internal government of Liguria, and less daring in the factious part of the community, than in Piedmont." Dejean earnestly exhorted the members of the new institution to be guided by experience only, and to lay aside those abstract principles and dangerous theories which had proved the fruitful seed of revolution. From this it appears that Dejean had divined the views of the Consul, and that the Consul judged of human nature with great sagacity and truth.

There were, as we have said, in the executive commission moderate and upright men; but notwithstanding, excited by the clamours of the democrats, they prescribed a law of indemnity, of which the least that could be said was, that it was contrary to the capitulation of Alexandria. Compensation for losses from defaulters and enemies of the state—for thus were called the partisans of Austria, and of the old regime, was to be made; and, if they did not possess the amount of

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would free them from the rule of a foreign lord. On the 9th of June, Pius the Seventh set out from Venice, and, after a toilsome passage, reached the port of Ancona on the 25th, having previously sent on the Cardinals Albani, Roverella, and Somaglia, with authority to receive the government from the agents of Ferdinand, and to give some arrangement to the disordered administration. On the 3d of July he entered Rome, and was hailed by the inhabitants with the accustomed demonstrations of joy. He now appointed new pastors for the church, and new magistrates for the state, and restored every thing, as far as was practicable, to the ancient order. The initiative proceedings of his reign were mild, and the same mildness marked his subsequent measures; nor did the partisans of republicanism suffer any molestation. He commanded that the church property sold during the time of the French government should revert to the apostolical chamber, with the reservation of one-fourth of the value to the recent proprietors. Wishing to provide, on one hand, for the wants of the chamber, and, on the other, to favour the interests of the com-

munes and individuals, but a short time elapsed ere he adopted an ameliorated mode of taxation. Desiring to free the communes from the burden of the public debt, he transferred it to the pontifical chamber, excepting however the debts contracted for the provision of the city, and the interest accruing from previous engagements. He relieved the communes from the mounts,* investing them in the state; but, at the same time, decreed that, till the revenue should be reimbursed, two-fifths of the interest of the mounts should be paid into the treasury. Four-fifths of the interest was to be paid to those who drew from the mounts profits expiring at a given time, and he exempted these establishments of whatever nature, perpetual or terminable, from every species of tax or contribution. He abolished all customary fees, such as those arising to sheriffs (*bargelli*), those on renewed patents, and those on dead horses; or transferred them for the benefit of the communes. The burthen of contribution he made more equal and uniform, reducing all imports to two denomi-

* Banks paying annuities on property made over to them, whether capital or the rents of lands or houses, &c.

nations, and abolishing every privilege and ancient custom contrary to the impartiality of his system. One class was called Loyalties, and the other Donatives. The first consisted of four divisions: a land-tax of seven pauls in every hundred crowns value on rural property; an imposition of two pauls in the hundred crowns on palaces and town houses; five crowns in the hundred on the transfer of interest, or annuities; a tax on absentees, of the sixth part of the returns of every description of capital, whether in natural products, agriculture, manufactories, or civil possessions. The donatives consisted of a tax on salt, on grain, and oil, and a duty of three pauls on every barrel of wine which entered Rome. The fathers of twelve children and the mendicant orders were exempted from the above taxes. These regulations were judicious, and were rendered much more beneficial by the service the republicans had done the state in destroying the paper currency.

The Consul did not omit to give the affairs of the Roman state due consideration. He clearly perceived, that if peace with the kings of Europe

were likely to prove an effectual means of power, his ambition would receive still more effectual aid from peace with the church ; and when he heard that Cardinal Chiaramonti had been elevated to the pontificate, he conceived still brighter hopes ; knowing him to be endowed with sincere piety, and therefore the more easy of persuasion. The offers of the Consul were of the last importance, because the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France not only restored one great realm to the Holy See, but tended to preserve it pure and intact in others ; since there is no doubt that if France had persevered in her wanderings in matters of religion, other countries would sooner or later have been contaminated by her example. For these reasons Pius the Seventh lent a willing ear to the overtures of the Consul ; and when each party had sounded the intentions of the other, they entered into the detail of the negotiation. The progress and the final adjustment of these matters we shall relate in the following book, with our accustomed candour.

Buonaparte triumphed on shore—Nelson ruled the seas. When intelligence of the victory of

Aboukir was received at Naples, the Maltese conceived hopes, that the preponderance of England in the Mediterranean would prevent the French from sending succours to the island ; and, rising on every side against the conquerors, they obliged them to confine themselves in Valetta, which, being of great strength, both by nature and art, could not easily be forced. Vaubois commanded the garrison ; but the number of defenders which, at the commencement of the siege, had amounted to four thousand, were, by sickness, soon reduced to two. The crews of the *Guillaume Tell*, *La Diane*, and *La Justice*, ships which had escaped from the destruction at Aboukir, were landed on the island ; and, under the command of Admiral Dacres, co-operated in the defence. Some Portuguese ships, under the command of the Marquis of Nizza, were assembled round the island, and quickly blockaded the port. Nor was Nelson long in arriving with his victorious fleet, and all hope was now lost, if any had been entertained, of relieving the besieged. Ferdinand assisted in the attack by furnishing two frigates, by supplying the inhabitants with arms and

ammunition, and by preventing the French from receiving provisions from Sicily; while a strong body of English, stationed on the island, co-operated with the Maltese, and prevented the besieged from making any sorties. Several times Nelson summoned Vaubois to surrender; but in vain. The French began to suffer severely from the want of provisions, of clothing, and of money, whilst disease rapidly increased among them. Yet, notwithstanding all these evils, the resolution of Vaubois was not to be shaken, nor his vigilance remitted. To provide for his pecuniary wants, he obliged the principal inhabitants of Valetta to give him promissory notes, to be paid by France at the general peace; and with these he paid the soldiers; to clothe them he exacted linen and cloth; to supply them with food, he demanded supplies of flour; he obliged the inhabitants to take their flour from him; and he bred rabbits and poultry, so that they supplied him for a long time. The scurvy raged among the men, but he combated it by cultivating green herbs in the most advantageous places. One Nicholas Isoard, a Maltese professor of music, composed

operas, which they performed, and sung, and danced: hunger, however, was pressing. The governor endeavoured to send the *Guillaume Tell* to France for succour, but the watchful and active English captured the vessel; yet Vaubois was ever vigilant, and provided with admirable prudence against every accident. The Maltese without conspired with those within; yet Vaubois detected their plots, and baffled every assault—astonishing prowess in men dying of hunger and disease. In sight of the besieged, three vessels, from Toulon, loaded with provisions and ammunition, and a reinforcement of three thousand men, fell into the hands of Nelson. Every day, every hour, the famine increased. They sent out the useless mouths. The English, as if there had been any danger of supplies, barbarously drove them back to the town. Many died under the walls; the others, more dead than alive, were received again by the French. Vaubois foresaw, that the ultimate close of all this was fast approaching; yet, as a last hope, to preserve the fortress, if possible, he sent to sea the two frigates, *La Diane* and *La Justice*: the first was taken; the second reached the ports of France in safety. Hunger

at last overcame valour, and he agreed to surrender, on the 5th of September, but on honourable terms. The garrison were to remain prisoners till the first exchange, and were then to be sent to France at the expence of England; nor was any Maltese to be molested for aught done or said in favour of the French. Thus, a brave garrison of veterans, of the army of Italy, was lost to France, a strong island, the bridge and the defence of the Mediterranean, fell into the power of England; and the fragments that had escaped from the Egyptian ruin,—destroyed or taken, swelled the triumphs of Nelson. Glorious certainly was the conqueror of Malta; but not without glory also was its defender—for neither greater courage, nor greater fortitude, nor greater ingenuity, could have been desired in Vaubois. Deserted by all, he struggled for two years; and was at last overcome, not by arms, but by that scourge which always takes from man the strength, and often, too, the will to resist.

Whilst England, who already possessed, in Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, strove, by the attack on Malta, to secure a safe station

there also, Russia and the Ottoman Porte arranged the constitution of the Ionian Isles. It was agreed, that the leading men of the country should form a republican government; and that this republic, like that of Ragusa, should be a vassal of the Porte, and should acknowledge its superiority by a legation expressly sent to Constantinople, with a yearly tribute of seventy-five thousand piastres, which should free the islands from every impost, or contribution to Turkey. The Republic of the seven islands was to have the same privileges as the Ragusans, and to arrange her own internal form of government, which the two powers were to guarantee. If it should prove necessary, Russia and the Porte were to retain the right of sending ships to the islands, and troops as garrisons, during the present war, and no longer. The republicans were to enjoy the free navigation of the Black Sea,—Russia guaranteed the integrity of the islands, and its acknowledgment by her allies. Prevesa, Parga, Vonizza, and Butintro, districts on the terra firma of Epirus, were ceded to the Porte, but under the same restrictions, and en-

joying the same privileges as the Christians of Wallachia and Moldavia. No Mahometans could possess property within their limits ;—the Christians were to be exempt from the payment of any tax for two years, and were licensed to re-build their church ; and a greater tribute than that which they had paid to Venice was never at any period to be demanded by the Porte. The form of government chosen by the islanders was, a council of notables, with legislative power, and a president with executive authority :—and thus the Venetian islands, surrounded by fearful wars on every side, attained a condition that was not only tolerable, but prosperous, and so remained sufficiently happy for several years. But other wars, and other schemes of ambition, arose once more to disturb them.

The suspension of hostilities did not slacken the preparations for war on either side. Whilst the war was carried on in Germany and Italy, Buonaparte never ceased to raise fresh levies, which were sent as re-inforcements, as occasion demanded, to the German or Italian army ; and at Dijon he had collected a large body under Murat,

which menaced Italy and Germany alike. On her side Austria was not negligent: her levies were principally raised in Hungary, whence they were sent to strengthen the divisions on the frontiers. The army defeated at Marengo was still entire, and ready to combat anew; but no small hopes for the future were formed by the Court of Vienna on the movements in Tuscany, which, placed by the convention of Alexandria out of the French dominion, and consequently under that of Austria, followed the wishes of the Emperor. A violent enmity still nestled in Tuscany against the republicans, a hatred which had become excessively rancorous, and which the clergy did not cease to foment; whilst the regency appointed in the name of the Grand Duke laboured to excite the populace to the same end. The Marquis of Sommariva, sent by the Emperor to form this disorderly multitude, armed and embodied them, and, with indefatigable efforts laboured to complete the work committed to his care. As peace or war, however, was still uncertain, it could not be said that this proceeding of the Tuscan government

was contrary to the convention. But these Tuscan bands knew neither obedience nor discipline, and, urged on by their hatred to the republicans, burst from the confines, and, roaming over the mountains which divide Tuscany from the Modenese and Bolognese territories, committed many outrages on the inhabitants. These movements were the cause of some alarm to the republicans, and they profited by the occasion of complaint thus afforded, to demand from Tuscany and Sommariva, not only the punishment of the invaders, but the dissolution of the armed bands of peasantry. Sommariva made no satisfactory reply, but continued to over-run the country at pleasure. This caused the Consul, who was also allured by the desire of possessing Leghorn, to form the resolution of occupying Tuscany by an armed force. To this intent he commanded Dupont instantly to cross the Appenines, and make himself master of Florence; Monnier was directed to dislodge the troublesome horde of insurgents then assembled; and Clement, marching lower down, was to effect the seizure of Leghorn. This plan succeeded in

all its parts. The first found no difficulty in effecting the occupation of the capital of Tuscany; while the second reached Leghorn by the way of Lucca, and seized about fifty English vessels in the port and an immense supply of grain.—Clement, however, found it not so easy to accomplish the task assigned to him on the side of Arezzo; for the inhabitants would listen to no compromise, but resolved on an obstinate resistance. The French battered the town with cannon, and kept up a severe fire on the city and castle with grenades, but those within defended themselves manfully. St. Cyr, the bold occupier and defender of Castel Ceriolo, laboured in vain. The inhabitants of Arezzo kept the assailants at a distance, with case shot, with grenades, and stones. The republican leader commanded a general assault: he had already, by means of rockets, set fire to some of the gates; but as they were strongly fortified within by raddles formed of thick branches, and covered with kneaded clay, the French were obliged to abandon the attempt, yet not until after they had suffered severely. On the following day, the

19th of October, having better arranged the plan of attack, some of the republicans applied their scaling ladders to the walls at a very early hour, and climbing up, possessed themselves of the gates, and opened them to their companions. Then the whole weight of the republican mass forcing into the city, obtained possession of it, but not without fresh struggles and renewed carnage; for, from the windows, from the roofs, from the loop-holes that had been made in the walls of all the houses for this purpose, the inhabitants, aided by some companies of regular troops, poured on the heads of the assailants every species of offensive missile. But at last disciplined courage prevailed over undisciplined rage, and Arezzo fell into the hands of her enemies. Then ensued the slaughter, pillage, and violence that might be expected from soldiers infuriated by recent sufferings, which revived also the memory of former injuries. A few escaped, and retired to the castle; shortly after they demanded a conditional surrender and obtained it. The turn occasioned by the fate of Arezzo caused the dissolution of the greater part

of the Tuscan insurgent bands. An apparent calm succeeded; but, under its shelter, fiercer discontents were brooding, ready to spring into action at the first opportunity; for the most pacific state in Italy persevered longer than any other in an obstinate desire of war. Sommariva with the Germans retired to Ferrara.

Every thing tended towards a new war between France and Austria. The Emperor had refused to ratify the preliminaries of peace, stipulated at Paris on the 8th of July between the Count St. Julian, his envoy, and Talleyrand, the French minister; and by which the Consul had to compensate his losses by new acquisitions in Italy. The Emperor not only refused to ratify the treaty, but expressed much displeasure at St. Julian, as having gone beyond his instructions. At this period, too, he was strongly urged by England to continue the contest, because she had refused to make peace herself, and dreaded being left single-handed against France: neither could she be reconciled to the idea of the Netherlands being left in possession of her rival; she offered, therefore, the aid of subsidies

and troops on the side of Naples. On the other hand, the Emperor could not resolve on giving up Mantua, deeming his new acquisitions in Italy insecure, as long as this fortress should remain in possession of a state entirely dependent on France; and, although he was deprived of the powerful co-operation of the Emperor Paul, he trusted that the strength of his own resources were sufficient to wage successful war alone; remembering, also, the recent victories of Verona and Magnano, and reflecting that if the day had been finally lost at Marengo by a single moment, after victory had been his for seven hours, it was not by any want of courage on the part of his army. The hostile armies were at this time posted in the following order:—the Germanic army of France, commanded by Moreau, fronted the Germanic army of Austria, under Kray;—the Italian army of France, under Brune, opposed the Austro-Italic host, commanded by Bellegarde. Between the two, for the purpose of forming a communication, a French division was posted, under Macdonald; and in the Tyrol, an Austrian one, with Hiller at its head. Thus,

Moreau and Kray, ancient rivals, Macdonald and Hiller, Brune and Bellegarde, were opposed to each other.

The rising in Tuscany, which had obliged Brune to dismember a part of his force, and to send it on beyond his right wing, had weakened the remainder. Desirous, therefore, of strengthening him, the Consul commanded Macdonald to leave strong garrisons in the Grisons, and to descend first from the Grisons to the Valtelline, and then, from the Valtelline, on the banks of the Oglio and the Adige; the first, in order to reinforce Brune in his assigned station, and the latter to take Bellegarde in the rear, and oblige him to retire from the Mincio, where he had his present quarters. This order of the Consul entailed extreme hardship, and was of difficult execution; for to attempt to cross at this advanced season, now near the end of October, the mountain of the Splugen, which must be done to reach the Valtelline, or to effect, what was no less difficult, a passage over the Priga, which must be accomplished to reach the vale of Camonica, watered by the Oglio; and lastly, to surmount the Tonale,

which gives access to the Upper Adige, was a supernatural rather than a human undertaking. Nor was the recent example of the passage of the St. Bernard a case in point, for the season was more inclement, and the mountains more precipitous. Posterity, perhaps, will find in this design of Buonaparte more audacity than wisdom, and greater confidence in his troops than knowledge of the locality. Notwithstanding however all this, Macdonald did not lose courage, the achievement of St. Bernard exciting his emulation. The van-guard, under Baraguay d'Hilliers, being that which was the first ready to set out, and the nearest to the mountains, crossed in two divisions, one by the Splugen, the other by the Monte dell' Ora, and arrived, not without having overcome great difficulties, on the right at Chiavenna, and on the left at Sondrio. By this means, Baraguay gained the command of the Valtelline, and facilitated the descent of Macdonald. The Valtellines were as much amazed at the sight of these troops as if they had dropped from Heaven, so impossible did it appear to them that they should have made their way over those

heights, especially at such a season ; but the task which remained to Macdonald was still more difficult. When they reached Tusizio, where begins the ascent to the mountain eternally capped with snow, it seemed that the obstacles presented by nature had become insuperable, so deep was the snow, so choked up was the road, so slippery though yet untrodden, so narrow, rough, and precipitous. The artillery, however, was placed on *traineaux*, and the provisions on mules, as at St. Bernard. They marched on, but with extreme difficulty. The van-guard, under La-boissiere, reached the village of Splugen, whence there yet remained the ascent of the steep eminence which leads to the highest ridge. They set out, and proceeding with painful steps and breathless toil, had already approached the wished-for summit, when a furious east wind suddenly arose, and raising an immense cloud of fine powdery snow, drove it in the eyes of the soldiers, so as to render all farther progress impossible.* The force of this vehement whirlwind

* The peculiar sharpness of this snow blisters and cuts the skin, so as to draw blood.—*Tr.*

blowing furiously on the heaps of snow on the slippery summits, caused a horrible rush of these avalanches, which, falling with indescribable velocity and a fearful crash, like masses of lead, into the valley beneath, carried down every thing that lay in their course. Thirty soldiers, thus precipitated, perished in the abyss; the rest were terror-stricken, and their path blocked up. The approach of night rendered their situation still more horrible, and they retraced their steps to Splugen. Laboissiere, who separated from his people, had gone on with the guides with difficulty, in almost a lifeless state reached the summit; but here he found a hospitable asylum with the cœnobites, who, like the monks of St. Bernard, devote their heroic piety to the preservation of forlorn travellers.

The undertaking seemed desperate, and so it would have proved but for the arrival of Macdonald, who, spurred on by the desire of emulating the Consul, and perceiving also that certain destruction would arise from famine if they halted here, worked so much on the minds of the soldiers by his earnest entreaties and exhortations, that the

wearied and terrified troops returned to the attempt. Four strong oxen were sent on to track the snow, forty men followed to clear a path with shovels, after whom came the sappers to make it solid, while two companies of infantry on the right and left laboured to complete their work: they were closely followed by the troops, both infantry and cavalry, the artillery and the beasts of burden closing up the rear. This was the van-guard. When they reached the hospital on the summit, their joy was extreme to find Laboissiere in safety; then, following the road by the plain of Cardinello, they reached Campo Dolcino. In the same manner, on the second and third of December, the passage was effected by two other squadrons of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The weather being calm and cold, the snow was hardened into ice, which facilitated the passage. A few soldiers, only, died of the extreme cold, and some were mutilated by the effect of the frost on their extremities. The hardships of the march were cruel, but there was hope of accomplishing it happily; when, on the fourth, as the van-guard, in which was Macdonald, commenced

their ascent, a tremendous storm arose, which arrested the progress of some, buried others under the drifted snow, and entirely effaced every trace of the path that had been made. Despair now seized every mind; the terrified guides, who were natives of the country, declared it to be impossible to proceed, and refused to go on. Macdonald was about to perish under hills of snow, as Cambyzes had done under hills of sand; but his own resolution, and the exertions of his companions, prevailed over all: their feats were rather the labours of giants than of men. He encouraged the guides; he animated the soldiers; he ran to and fro, exclaiming—"Frenchmen! the army of reserve has overcome St. Bernard; do you conquer the Splugen; let your glory vanquish that which nature has wished to make insuperable. Destiny calls you to Italy. Go, and subdue the mountains and the snows, then conquer men and arms." The long line of the disconsolate squadron renewed their march: the storm raged yet more fiercely; frequently the guides, distracted by terror, turned back; frequently the men were overwhelmed with snow,

and not less often were they dispersed. Sometimes the narrow gorge of the profound valley was transformed into a mountain of snow; a white and solid wall arose where had been the opening;—every path was closed. The cold also was intense, and became the greater the higher they ascended, dispiriting and subduing the mind, whilst it benumbed the limbs and rendered them useless. The snowy barrier rising before them with momentary speed, was often renewed to oppose their passage; inexorable winter wandered at large, and ruled the scene; and the Rhaetian Alps seemed about to swallow up the audacious invaders. In a situation thus forlorn, an illustrious example is given of the prodigious efforts to which human nature is equal; for Macdonald and his troops, not yielding to this mortal peril, opened the lately closed paths, levelled the mounds, broke the ice, made the yielding snow solid, roughened that which was slippery, and covered and filled up that which was hollow; and thus, by all these expedients, though stern winter called them to destruction and death, they overcame its chill horrors, and, struggling success-

fully with all that is direst in the raging fury of the elements, they reached in safety the vale of the Valtelline. Here they congratulated each other on their rescued lives, for each had deemed death to be inevitable ; and Macdonald exulted at the success of his invincible resolution. Achievements such as these appear impossible, and more so to those who have accomplished them, than even to others ; neither would posterity credit them, if our own age (so fruitful in narrative) could not bring a hundred witnesses to verify them ; for neither ancient nor modern history records any exploit more wonderful than this, or so truly Herculean. This may serve to show the energy of the enemy the Austrians had to cope with, for certainly they never would have exposed themselves to such fearful risks. Courage was equal on both sides, but greater daring was on the part of the French. Some may call it temerity ; but fortune is the friend of the bold, and the world is for him who will seize it.

Although the first part of the enterprise had been accomplished, the two others were yet to be effected, and they were also attended with consi-

derable difficulty. These were the passage from the Valtelline to the vale of Camonica, that is, from the banks of the Adda to those of the Oglio; and then to the Trentino, that is, from the Adda to the Adige; the first by Monte Priga, the second by Monte Tonale. This last did not succeed; for the Germans were strongly intrenched there; and, though Macdonald twice attacked them vigorously, he was ultimately repulsed by the valour of the enemy, seconded by the strength of their position, and the rigour of the season. The passage of the Priga, on the other hand, was happily accomplished. When the republicans had traversed this rugged mountain (although not without serious difficulties and perils), they reached the Oglio, and, passing Breno, assembled at Pisogna, a district on the southern point of the lake of Iseo, which the Oglio forms and nourishes with its waters. Here they found the Italian legion of Lecchi, and fresh provisions which Brune had providently furnished for the refreshment of these exhausted and heroic men.

Towards the end of November, the truce expired, and hostilities were declared on both sides.

nald reached the allotted position, from whence he was able to co-operate with Brune; and the Generalissimo, therefore, desirous of seconding the movements of Moreau in Germany, who had successfully penetrated to the heart of Austria, commenced active hostilities. An impetuous attack on the squadrons posted by Bellegarde on the right bank of the Mincio forced them to retire to the opposite side. The passage of the river was now to be effected by the French,—a difficult operation; for the Austrians, strong in number and position, were determined on an obstinate resistance. The French were divided into three bands: the upper, that is, the one on the left division under Moncey, looked towards Peschiera; the central, under Suchet, was opposite Borghetto; and the right, under Dupont, posted on the Volta, extended as far as Goito. Brune hoped to cross by the pass of Mozambano, where the banks, being less marshy, were easier to ascend, and afforded a firmer footing where it was necessary to occupy them. To accomplish this design with greater ease, he wished to deceive the enemy by a feint of passing lower down

between Volta and Pozzuolo; and, with this intent, he commanded Dupont to make such strong demonstrations of crossing in this place, that Bellegarde should be persuaded that this was really the passage the French designed to effect, not doubting that the German general would send so great a proportion of his troops in that direction as would leave his right wing uncovered, and thus facilitate his design on Mozambano. Brune, however, commanded Dupont to content himself with merely making a show of occupying the left bank, and to make no stand there, but avoid a decided engagement. The 25th of December, the day appointed by the French general for the passage of the Mincio, arrived, and Dupont in the first instance commenced the operations necessary to effect the duty imposed on him. The light troops crossed first, in boats which they there met with by chance, and then, the pontoons being placed, the main body followed, consisting of the two squadrons of Watrin and Monnier. After a short contest, he became master of Pozzuolo, where, without regarding the general plan, he took up his station,—at once a

fortunate and an unfortunate idea; for, if it was important to occupy Pozzuolo, it might, on the other hand, under the existing circumstances, have entailed the total defeat of the French army; and this effect it had well nigh produced. It had been more consonant to the instructions of the French commander, and better for the general security of the army, if Dupont, having secured the means, had delayed the actual passage, till Brune had also crossed at Mozambano. His precipitation was the cause of serious risk; for Brune had been so much impeded by the badness of the roads, that he was unable to concur in the operations on the 25th. Bellegarde, therefore, who was stationed at Villa Franca, a short distance from Pozzuolo, quickly fell on Dupont with the entire weight of his forces. The French general defended himself valiantly, although Bellegarde appeared with almost the whole of his army in battle array against him, and his soldiers did every thing that brave men could do in a situation of such extreme peril. But, such was the preponderance of the Austrian attacking with his whole force a small division of the enemy,

that Dupont, unable to resist with his own corps alone, began to yield, and found himself on the point of being driven back across the river, thus paying the penalty of having ventured to disobey the orders of the commander-in-chief, by coming to a pitched battle on the opposite bank. The right wing of the French would, consequently, have been entirely defeated and routed, had not an unexpected succour suddenly arrived in the critical moment. Suchet, who, from the heights of the Volta, saw how closely Dupont was pressed by the enemy, considering rather the circumstances of the case than the orders of Brune, who had commanded his services at the pass of Mozambano, descended in extreme haste to the ill-omened Pozzuolo.

The arrival of Suchet restored the fortune of the day, which till that moment had been lost. Still the Austrians, strong in number and secure on their right flank, gave fierce and obstinate battle. Thrice did they gain possession of Pozzuolo, and thrice were they driven out; but, in the end, Bellegarde was obliged to retire, behind Villa Franca, leaving the republicans ~~scattered~~

Pozzuolo. He suffered much in this action, leaving five thousand killed and wounded; and three thousand prisoners remained to prove how little the termination of a battle can be judged of from its commencement. Three standards and eleven cannon adorned the triumph of the conquerors: the victory, however, was not gained without some loss on the part of the French; for their killed and wounded amounted to two thousand, although only a few prisoners remained in the hands of Bellegarde. The following day, as had been originally arranged, Brune crossed the river at Mozambano, and thus the whole French army passed to the left bank of the Mincio.

Bellegarde, taking into consideration the result of the affair of Pozzuolo, and not wishing to hazard an engagement in the open plains between the Mincio and the Adige, although his force greatly exceeded that of the enemy in cavalry, resolved to yield to circumstances, and retired to the left of the Adige, leaving only a few battalions on the right, not to occupy the country, but to impede the passage of the river. Emboldened by victory, Brune now purposed to

drive back the enemy beyond Verona, and to make the force of the French arms be felt in the Vicentine, Paduan, and Trivigian districts. To this intent, he arranged his movements for crossing the river above rather than below Verona, in order to secure the co-operation of Macdonald, and to prevent the junction of Laudon and Vukassovich, who were already descending from the Tyrol: for which reasons, drawing towards the Adige with the main body, he sent Moncey towards Corona and Rivoli, to close the road against Laudon and Vukassovich, with orders to follow in their rear, in case they should deem it expedient to retrace their steps.

He knew that Macdonald, passing by the upper range of mountains, and, entering from the valley of the Oglio into that of the Mela, and from thence to that of the Chiesa, and following the upper side of the Lago di Garda, proposed to come out by steep and rugged hills above Trent. If this movement had succeeded, Laudon and Vukassovich, attacked above by Macdonald, and below by Moncey, would have had no means of escape. This plan succeeded, as far as regarded

the crossing of the river, which was easily effected at Bussoleugo, so famous for successive passages, now of the French, now of the Austrians. Being informed of the march of Macdonald, Bellegarde made only a feeble show of opposition to the republicans, and retired on the banks of the Brenta, leaving a garrison only in the castle of San Felice, in the Veronese, which shortly after surrendered. At the same time, aware of the danger of Laudon and Vukassovich, he commanded them to ascend the Adige as quickly as possible, and to join him in the vicinity of Bassano by forced marches through the vale of the Brenta. At this moment the intelligence arrived that, after the victory of Hohenlinden, gained by Moreau over the Archduke John, a truce had been concluded at Steyer, on the 25th of December, between the French general and the Archduke Charles. Bellegarde proposed to Brune a similar suspension of hostilities; as he exacted, however, in conformity with his instructions, the cession not only of Peschiera, Ferrara, Ancona, and the port of

Legnano, but also of Mantua, the French general refused to accede to such conditions, and the contest was continued.

In the Tyrol, the state of affairs became pressing; Moncey and Macdonald endeavouring to shut up and surround Vukassovich and Laudon. Vukassovich, however, who was stationed higher up than Laudon, quickly obeying the summons of Bellegarde, entered the vale of the Brenta by Pergine, escaped the danger, and marched in safety by the bank of this river in front of his general; Laudon, on the contrary, found himself in a situation of extreme difficulty, as he had already advanced so far that it was not possible for him to return from Roveredo, towards Trent, before the arrival of Macdonald; besides, being fiercely attacked by Moncey on the lower side, so as to be driven higher up, he was obliged to abandon even Roveredo to the victor. At this moment also Macdonald, having overcome the resistance that Davidovich had made at Trent, with a small body of the rear guard of Vukassovich, had possessed himself of this capital of

the Italian Tyrol. Laudon, therefore, was cut off from the main road, and the only hope of escape which remained was by the narrow, steep, and bad roads from Caldonazzo to Levico. It would have been impossible to have passed by such rugged paths, more especially with the cavalry, baggage, and artillery, if the French had rapidly pursued them. But Laudon sent to inform Moncey that a truce had been concluded (a mere fabrication of his own) between Brune and Bellegarde, and required his observance of it. The French general gave him credence, and abstained from opposing him; on which, profiting by the opportunity, Laudon accelerated his march to the utmost, and reached Levico in safety, from whence making a successful descent, he effected the desired junction with Bellegarde. Moncey marching above Roveredo, and Macdonald below Trent, the two generals met between these towns, both grieving that a fraud had deprived them of a signal occasion of increasing their own glory, and of rendering an essential service to their country. The disappointment was doubly bitter to Macdonald, as now all the hardships and dangers he

had gone through had been to no purpose.* The accomplishment, however, of another part of his plan remained—great and daring enterprises being his highest pleasure: this was to ascend the Adige to Bolzano and Brescia, then to enter the vale of the Drave, and thus come out on the rear of Bellegarde, and cut off his retreat into Austria. In fact, he did proceed as far as Bolzano, and there briskly attacked general Auffenberg, who occupied the town with four thousand men; but peace, not hostile arms, impeded Macdonald in the execution of his bold design.

Vukassovich and Laudon having joined Bellegarde, he might for a time have held the balance of fortune; but he did not desire to incur a dangerous hazard, the news of the armistice of Steyer having deprived him of hope. He therefore retired from the Brenta to the banks of the Piave, and Brune followed him; here the war

* And for this reason, Macdonald's passage of the Splugen is little spoken of, though, in itself, so much more astonishing than that effected by Buonaparte over the Great St. Bernard; but the latter, having changed the lot of Europe, is familiar to every one. The most heroic actions are known to fame rather by their consequences, than by their own intrinsic merit.—*Tr.*

terminated. At the request of the Austrian general, a truce was concluded on the 16th of January, at Treviso, with the following conditions; and neither party were to commence offensive operations within fifteen days after it was declared at an end. The fortresses of Peschiera and Sermione, the castles of Verona and Legnago, the citadel of Ferrara, the city and the fort of Ancona were to be ceded to the French; Mantua was still to be blockaded by the republicans, at the distance of eight hundred yards from the ground-work, and the garrison were to be allowed to introduce provisions, on every tenth day, sufficient for the consumption of the intervening space of time; the Austrian magistrates were to be respected; the truce was to last for thirty-three days, including the fifteen; and finally, no one was to be molested for political opinions. The Consul was far from being satisfied with the convention of Treviso, because it did not suit his purposes that the Austrians should retain Mantua; he therefore sent a menace to the Austrian court, (finding himself in a victorious position), declaring, that if Mantua were not given up to him, he

would break the convention, and neither ratify the armistice of Steyer nor that of Treviso, but recommence hostilities. The Emperor was forced to comply ; and, by a new agreement made at Luneville, this most important fortress was given up into the hands of the French.

The armistice of Treviso had reduced the King of Naples to great straits, because it set the French at liberty to attempt the recovery of the territory they had lost. Count Roger de Damas, wishing to co-operate with Bellegarde, had advanced with the Neapolitans, and, crossing the Roman states, had entered Tuscany, taking up his quarters at Sienna. On the other side Sommariva, with some squadrons of Germans and the Aretine exiles, had also advanced, and had caused a rising in the upper part of the Grand Duchy. Encouraged by these movements, the Aretines, who ill-brooked the dominion of the French, rose anew, and placed Miollis in a critical situation, the paucity of his numbers being insufficient for the occupation of Tuscany. Tumult and division thus marking the frontiers, Sommariva on the one side, and Count Roger on the other, marched

on Florence, where the French general had his head quarters. These occurrences took place in the beginning of the year. Despairing of making head against both his enemies at once, for his troops were few in number, and even that small body a mixture of French, Cisalpines, and Piedmontese, Miollis prudently resolved to use such celerity as should enable him to attack them separately. He first marched against the Neapolitans, under the Count; general Pino led the vanguard of the Cisalpine infantry and Piedmontese cavalry; and, between Poggibonza and Sienna they fell upon a column of five or six thousand Neapolitan infantry, and, charging them furiously with the bayonet, put them to flight. The Count wished to make head at Sienna, but Pino, incited by his own courage and that of his troops, and animated by the fervour of victory, followed him up instantly, and, shattering the gates with cannon, entered the place triumphantly. The Count withdrew from the town, and tried to assemble his forces on the neighbouring hills; but being still more closely pressed by the Cisalpines and Piedmontese, he was obliged entirely to

abandon the Tuscan territory ; and, favoured by the obscurity of the night, retreated into the Roman states. When informed of his disasters, Sommariva hastily retreated also, and sought shelter at Ancona. In this manner Miollis, by the valour of his troops and his own prudence, restored the supremacy of France in Tuscany, and kept in check the left wing of Bellegarde. Such was the state of Tuscany at the period of the truce of Treviso, in which the King of Naples not being comprehended, his dominions were exposed to serious danger ; for Murat, who was sent by the Count with the new levies to Italy, was marching quietly through Tuscany and Romagna, to invade the kingdom. Murat's troops were also joined by one of the victorious squadrons of Brune, and every thing gave way to the force of their recent successes. It was impossible for Ferdinand to make any effectual resistance ; his ruin seemed certain ; but rescue, when apparently utterly hopeless, arrived to him from the North. Caroline of Naples, although in disposition too revengeful, and although she allowed herself to be carried too far by transports

of anger, yet possessed a strong mind ; and, giving little faith to the insane expectations, and the boasts of their too confident enemies, she placed her whole trust in Russia, and having no hope of any other mode of peace with France, resolved to go in person to St. Petersburg, to beseech the mediation of Paul between the Consul and Ferdinand. Paul was gratified by the confidence she placed in him ; and, already reconciled to the Consul, sent General Levashev to Italy, to mediate a peace between the two powers.

Buonaparte was well-pleased with this proceeding, because, in the first place, the contending powers, and especially the Italians, saw that one of the most powerful princes in the world not only acknowledged his government, but, moreover, was on terms of friendship with him ; and, in the second place, he saw the kingdom of Naples withdrawn from the influence of England, and placed anew under his own. Levashev met every where in Italy the most honourable reception, as if the whole greatness of Paul shone forth in his person. The people wondered that Russia, which had been so much the enemy of France, should now

have become her friend; and, comparing the times of Suwarrow and Levashev, they admired the power and the fortune of the Consul. The Chevalier Micheroux met Murat, on the part of the King, at Foligno:—they occupied but a short time in their negociation, both parties eagerly desiring to come to an accord—the one to please the Emperor Paul, the other from fear of Buonaparte. On the 18th of February, therefore, a truce was concluded between France and Naples, under the guarantee of Russia; the principal articles of which were, that the Neapolitans should retire from the Roman territories;—that the republicans should occupy Terni, but should not pass beyond the Nera;—that the ports of both Sicilies should be shut against the English and the Turks;—that all communication should cease between Porto Ferrajo and Porto Longone, in the island of Elba, until the English should evacuate Porto Ferrajo;—that Dolomieu should be liberated from the dungeons of Messina;—that the French officers and generals should be given up; and that the King should be obliged to attend to the recommendations of France in favour of those

who were imprisoned or banished for political opinions.

This treaty was quickly executed. Count Roger evacuated the states of the Church; and, in compliance with the instances of the Consul, abolished all extraordinary tribunals, and remitted all penalties for treasonable offences. Excited by the pride of entering Rome as a deliverer, and desirous of facilitating future designs, Murat made his entry into that city, the populace crowding to meet him, and there paid his reverence to the Pontiff.

Every thing tended towards peace. Terror was more powerful at Vienna than the exhortations of England. Negotiations were carried on at Luneville, on the part of Austria, by Count Louis Cobentzel; and, on that of France, by Joseph Buonaparte; each being furnished with full powers to conclude them. After some discussion, a definitive treaty was signed, on the 9th of February; the principal articles of which, as regarded Italy, were the same as those of the Treaty of Campo Formio, differing only as to the respective confines. The Adige, from its source

in the Tyrol to its mouth, formed the boundary line between the Cisalpine Republic and the Austrian states. The right division of the Verona, and also of that of Porto Legnago was to belong to the Cisalpine Republic, the left to Austria. The Emperor pledged himself to give Brisgovia to the Duke of Modena, in compensation for the loss of his duchy. The Grand Duke gave up his pretensions to Tuscany and the Island of Elba, which were both made over to the Infant Duke of Parma; and the former Duke was to be compensated with equivalent states in Germany. The Emperor acknowledged and recognised the Ligurian and Cisalpine Republics, and resigned all title to sovereignty and right over the Cisalpine territory. He consented also to the union of some of the Imperial fiefs with the Ligurian republic. With regard to Piedmont, nothing was stipulated, as Buonaparte wished to reserve either the opportunity of keeping it to himself, or the means of gratifying the Emperor Paul.

The King of Naples also, now reduced to the necessity of yielding to the distant influence of

Paul, and the immediate power of Buonaparte, made peace with the Consul, acceding, in a treaty signed at Florence, on the 29th of March, by Micheroux on his part, and by Alquier on that of France, to all the terms of the truce, to which also some further concessions were added ; his Majesty, renouncing entirely, in the first place, Porto Longone and all he possessed in the Isle of Elba ; and, secondly, yielding to France, as her uncontested property, the garrisoned states, and the principality of Piombino. He granted also an amnesty of all political offences committed previously to that date ; restored confiscated property ; liberated those in confinement, and permitted the return of the exiled, who further obtained the restitution of all their rights and property. Oblivion of all offences was proclaimed on both sides.

A new compact was also entered into with Spain, by a treaty signed at Madrid, on the 21st of March, by Lucien Buonaparte and the Prince of Peace, when the two contracting parties agreed that the Duke of Parma should resign his duchy in favour of the French republic, and that Tuscany should be given to his son, with the title of

King; the Duke to be compensated by other states and certain stipends; that the port of the Isle of Elba, which appertained to Tuscany, should be ceded to France, and that France should compensate the King of Etruria with the State of Piombino; that Tuscany should be for ever united to the crown of Spain; that, if the King of Etruria should die without offspring, the sons of the Spanish Monarch should succeed him.

Thus, in less than a year, every obstacle yielding to the fortunes of Buonaparte, he conquered Italy and Austria; then, as there prevailed in all, from similar or from opposite motives, the same desire of peace, he composed all differences, contracted a friendship with the Emperor Paul, promised a reconciliation with the Emperor Francis, and once more raised France anew from the ebb of her fortunes, to a condition of eminent prosperity.

CHAPTER III.

The Consul comes to an agreement with the See of Rome, and restores the Catholic religion in France.—The Concordat.—Discussions in the Papal council on this subject.—Organic articles added by the Consul.—Complaints of the Pope respecting them.—French ordinances in Piedmont, which pave the way for its definitive union with France.—Menou replaces Jourdan in the government.—Murat in Tuscany.—His mandate against the Neapolitan exiles.—Tuscany given to the young Prince of Parma, with the title of King of Etruria.—The Consul endeavours to secure more ample authority, and a more illustrious title.—Makes his first experiments in Italy, and calls the Italian deputies to Lyons.—He is there declared president of the Italian republic for ten years, with the capability of being re-elected.—Constitution of the Italian republic.—Change in Genoa.—Her new constitution.—Monument erected at Sarsana in honour of the Buonaparte family, originally of that city.—Piedmont formally united to France.—Charles Louis Infant of Spain becomes King of Etruria by the death of the Prince of Parma.—Yellow fever at Leghorn.—The ten

years' arts of Buonaparte attain their completion.—Procures for himself the title of Emperor.—Pius the Seventh goes expressly to Paris to perform the ceremony of his coronation.

THE affairs of the church in France were in the utmost disorder. The Constituent Assembly had first interrupted the union with the Apostolic See, by denying the right of the Pope to nominate to bishoprics, as had been granted by the concordat between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First; and also by appropriating the property of the church to the nation. The succeeding governments, and more especially the National Assembly, not only annulled all the ordinances of the Constituent Assembly, but forbade the practice of every religious rite, persecuted the clergy, and—which was most infamous, even forced some to abjure their calling and their faith. The Directory continued to persecute the priests, now banishing, now imprisoning them, and uniformly interdicting them, more especially the non-jurors, from freely or publicly celebrating the rites of divine worship. Amidst all these sorrows of the pious, they derived some consolation from the

exhortations and advice of the constitutional priests. To them France remained indebted for the preservation of the faith. The Apostolical See also ought to acknowledge this obligation, although it may have cause to complain of the diminution of the authority of the chair of St. Peter introduced by them, and pertinaciously sustained by their discourses, their actions, and their writings. They preserved the faith, the root, without which, not only all ecclesiastical discipline, but all religion, must perish. Yet religion, without legal rites and public worship, protected and acknowledged by authority, cannot long subsist, and, less than any other, the Catholic religion, which captivates the mind by external pomp and solemnities. This was seen by prudent men, who had also become convinced that religious belief was an efficacious support to civil laws: of these things also were religious men persuaded, and they lamented that they dared not openly manifest those opinions which their reason and their hearts equally cherished. An universal desire had, therefore, arisen in France for the restoration of the rites of Catholicism, and the

very difficulties which seemed to attend it, caused it to be by many the more ardently desired. It appeared certain, too, that the people would eagerly have flocked round the first ensign of Christianity, and have embraced with affection whosoever should have raised it. Buonaparte was not a man to be blind to these things, and still less was he likely to neglect turning them to his own exaltation, and using them as means to accomplish his greater and ulterior ends. For these reasons he had used, on his arrival in France after his return from Egypt, expressions of conciliation—of religious feeling—of respect and friendship towards the Pope; all which he repeated on setting out for the second conquest of Italy, and made still the same protestations, when he returned victorious from the field of Marengo, to resume his consular seat at Paris. Freed from the more immediate and pressing cares of the war, he now applied himself much more closely to the negotiation with the Pope, in order to come to an adjustment on spiritual matters. He offered to restore the Catholic worship, and to bestow both rank and pecuniary provision on

its ministers. He added his customary flatteries, speaking in well-turned phrases of the benevolence and sanctity of Chiaramonti, Bishop of Imola; nor did he neglect the usual demonstrations of his regard for religion, and his attachment to the French nation. Some circumstances occurred to assist these machinations, and others also which impeded them. In favour of the Consul was the national council of the bishops who had taken the oaths, which, modelled on one that had been held in the year ninety-seven, was by his express consent to assemble at Paris on St. Peter's day. He not only did not prevent these bishops from speaking freely, but excited them so to do, although they had taken the oaths, and were opposed to that plenitude of authority, which the Popes assume to belong to the Apostolical See. Availing themselves largely of this privilege, they sent circulars to the bishops and priests, their companions in the Gallican church, exhorting them to imitate, as they said, that charity of which Jesus Christ had left the precept and example, by joining the council of Paris on the appointed day, in order to complete the work

begun in ninety-seven, and to give an example and an excitement for the renewal of those national and holy assemblies in every other nation of Christendom—assemblies, which had been so strongly recommended by the venerable ancient Christian church. They expressed also the hope that this meeting might give rise to a general council, which had not been held for several centuries, although the Council of Constance had prescribed such a convocation once in ten years, as a pious and a necessary re-union. They sent at the same time to beseech the Pope (with whom the Consul already negotiated as to the establishment of doctrines contrary to those they maintained), to send some of his deputies to certify themselves of their zeal and of the purity of their faith. They complained of having been condemned unheard by Pius the Sixth, and affirmed, that by their labours alone the course of episcopal jurisdiction had continued uninterrupted. “Perhaps,” said they, “it is imputed to us as a crime that we have supplied the comfort and support of religion to so many dioceses and parishes, which had been abandoned by their pastors.” They alleged, also,

that the faculty of theology and canon law of Friburg, in Brisgovia, had pronounced sentence in their favour, although unsought; they implored the opinion of all the Catholic universities of Europe, offering to explain, by words or writing, whatever might be required to elucidate the points in controversy; and concluded by declaring themselves obedient sons of the undivided, holy, catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, earnestly expressing their desire to live and die in her bosom.

The most important part of this controversy related to the election of bishops: first, whether, as to the temporal power, the election was as valid when made by the people, as by kings or other national rulers; and, as to the spiritual, whether, in order to prevent the interruption of the episcopal functions, the confirmation by another bishop would suffice, or if that of the Roman Pontiff was necessary. The next point in debate was, whether ecclesiastics should live solely by the oblations of the faithful, or whether they should possess actual property, and whether it was an heretical doctrine to maintain that the

temporal power for the general good of the state might, without the consent of the Roman Pontiff, dispose of the goods of the church. The opinions of the constitutional bishops assembled in Paris as to these questions were no secret, for every one knew that they decided against the doctrines of the See of Rome. Nor were these opinions confined to France, but were embraced by many of the most learned and pious amongst the Italians. Not to mention Ricci, Bishop of Pistoja, who advocated them more warmly than any other, they were entertained by the professors Degola, Zola, Tamburini, Palmieri, Gautier, a Philippine priest of Turin, Vailua, canon of Asti, with many others, both Tuscans and Neapolitans, who had imbibed the same doctrine from Ricci and the brothers Cestari. Gautier did not hesitate to assert that the election of bishops was of divine right, or, at least, of apostolical institution; that this mode of election had been ordained by the apostles themselves, and served as an example of the discipline universally practised by the church in the succeeding ages in a matter of so much importance. The

Philippine alleged, in confirmation of his doctrine, that the election of St. Matthias had been made not by St. Peter only, but by all the disciples assembled, to the number of a hundred and twenty; and, finally, he proceeded to say that, if in fact the Roman Pontiff had for many centuries appointed the bishops, it was by a mere usurpation of authority, from which he concluded that the Pope was bound to acknowledge, as true and legitimate bishops, those who had been created in conformity to the ordinances of the Constituent Assembly of France. Gautier exhorted the bishops to repair to the council of Paris, and to suffer no excuse or pretext to the contrary to be admitted in this great cause, as, according to him, every unprejudiced and well-judging man must pronounce sentence in favour of the clergy, who had been appointed in conformity to the ecclesiastical constitution of France, and must see that reason and justice were entirely on their side, according to sound canonical principles; that they were the true and legitimate pastors, being those who had been elected by the Christian people, and approved and installed in

their churches by their respective metropolitans, according to those primitive canons which had been confirmed by the veneration of the universe, and against which no custom ought to prevail. Benedetto Solaro, Bishop of Noli, gave the sanction of his authority and writings to these opinions, and showed a great desire to join the council at Paris.

On the other side, the Court of Rome vehemently opposed these doctrines. Pius the Sixth, in his briefs of the 10th of March and 18th of April, 1791, had solemnly condemned them, and had affirmed that the power of conferring ecclesiastical dignities according to the discipline established for several centuries, by custom, by various councils, and still more by express concordats, did not in the least appertain to the metropolitans, but that this power returned to the the source whence it was derived, appertaining only to the Apostolical See. That at present it was the office of the Pope to provide every church with bishops, as declared by the Council of Trent, from which it followed, that no legitimate appointment of bishops can take place,

except that which, is received from the Apostolic Chair. Thus the universal church duly assembled in council had ordained; thus had been settled by the concordat concluded between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First, by which it was seen that, although it was only from the fifteenth century the successors of St. Peter had installed the bishops, their rights were nevertheless incontrovertible, because, as vicars of Christ, they had received full power from God to govern the church on earth; and, if the bishops are appointed to govern particular churches, it is only from having received authority from the universal pastor.

These doctrines of the Roman Consistory, as they called them, were not to be tolerated, nor listened to with patience by the opposite party; who unceasingly combated them with discourses and writings, citations of texts, and logical arguments; nor, in doing so, did they always keep within the bounds of moderation; for, although they expressed themselves in terms of feigned humility towards the Pontiff, they mingled with them bitter observations, and opinions

of still greater acerbity, whenever they spoke of the Papal power; and the discussions, being between theologians, were becoming daily more harsh. In fine, under the civil constitution, the clergy appointed by the Constituent Assembly thought they had gained a point of great importance, and strove with every nerve to confirm their victory.

These theological controversies were highly grateful to the Consul, as a means of forwarding his own plans; for he did not doubt that the Pope would manifest a greater docility to his wishes, in order to prevent his espousing the part of those who impugned the authority of the Holy See; and, therefore, he not only favoured but excited these differences. These circumstances were favourable to him; yet, from disposition, from habit, and from conviction, he liked much better the confined and monarchical government of the Pope than the open and popular system of his adversaries; and the Papal ordinances, as regarding one undivided, universal power, appeared to him a grand, useful, and wonderful idea. The Jansenists he called men of

great faith, and narrow minds; nor did he think that the constitution of the clergy, it being now antiquated, and having been the cause of many misfortunes, could beneficially be renewed. A new and vigorous system—one more conformable to the wishes of the people, seemed to him to be wanting.

On the other hand, there existed on this subject many and serious difficulties; the chief strength of the Consul lay in his soldiers, and there was some reason to fear that all the religious apparatus to which they had been so long unaccustomed, and the re-appearance of the priests whom they had cruelly persecuted and made the constant subject of rancour and raillery, would appear in some degree ridiculous—a fault above all others to be avoided in France. He feared also, in the first instance, the philosophical sect, who were inimical to the Pope, and much more powerful than that which only impugned the plenitude of his Pontifical authority, and from whom he might otherwise expect great favour and great support. But that which most perplexed his mind was the sale of the church property by the

preceding government. To obtain the confirmation of these sales from the Pope was of the utmost importance, and he knew that Pius the Seventh was very unwilling to make any express declaration on the subject : however, the undisturbed possession of the purchasers was the indispensable foundation of his power. Not a few of the constitutional clergy were in great reputation and of some weight, and the Consul was anxious to conciliate them ; yet to persuade the Pope not only to absolve them and receive them again into his bosom, but to raise them to the first offices of the Gallican church, seemed a difficult and intricate matter to accomplish. Equal difficulties existed on the side of the ecclesiastics of the opposite party, who had refused to resign their benefices, even when in exile, partly from conscientious motives and partly from affection towards the royal family of France. No small impediment also to the conclusion of the negotiation arose on the subject of the celebration of the Catholic rites ; for they had so long fallen into disuse, that great fear was entertained of the scandal that might ensue amidst a population

infected with contrary opinions, if they were all at once publicly celebrated with the accustomed ceremonies of the church. And it was thought that the religious would receive more offence from the outrages that were apprehended, than they could derive edification from the restored worship. The Pope insisted on the celebration of the rites of the church to the fullest extent ; but the Consul steadily opposed him on this point, awaiting a more propitious season for complying with the demands of the See of Rome.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties in the way of a negotiation of such importance, both parties were sincerely desirous of overcoming them. Pius the Seventh sent to Paris Cardinal Hercules Consalvi, his Secretary of State, Joseph Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, and Father Caselli, theological counsellor of the Holy See. On his side, the Consul invested with full powers to treat and to conclude the negotiations, Joseph Buonaparte, Cretet, a counsellor of state, and Bernier, the curate of St. Laud, near Angers. On the 15th of July, a definitive treaty was concluded between the Holy See and the French

himself, who was extremely scrupulous and filled with zeal for the church, began to hesitate, and could not resolve to sign the concordat. The articles most objected to were: first, that which permitted the temporal power to regulate the forms of public worship, without any intervention of the spiritual power; and, secondly, that by which the Pope declared the property of those who had purchased church-lands to be inviolable. Some were of opinion that it was not only contrary to the canon law, but to the words of the Apostle,—who declares that bishops are called by the Holy Spirit to govern the church of God,—to maintain that the laity might, without the intervention of the ecclesiastical power, form rules for public worship, which the church should be obliged to confirm, even though the power of the state might be thus secured. They maintained that, without a form of worship, there is no church; that he who regulates the rites and ceremonies, regulates the church; and he who regulates, rules. “Either then, they concluded, it is false that the bishops are appointed by the Holy Spirit to govern the church,

sons of the church. Every man knew the power of the anti-catholic party in France, how entirely religion had there fallen into disuse, and how easily insult might be thrown on it : the circumstances of the times, therefore, required that the Supreme Pontiff should ratify the concordat in the best manner possible, to avoid the greater evil that would result from the refusal, whereby a great number of innocent men would be deprived of the religious aids which might arise to them under the present compromise, and thus commence the important measure of restoring the religion of the country ; for it was not the part of a prudent man to throw away the whole, when he might retain a portion ; nor could the Pope in any degree be censured for an act which was a mere concession, and which, proceeding from his sole authority, implied no rights to the temporal power, and entailed no precedent. Our Divine Redeemer had commanded the Apostles, in times of adversity, to unite the prudence of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove ; which precept, as explained by St. Thomas, signifies that, as the serpent, when in danger, twines

himself about, and hides his head to save it, in like manner the church should study to secure that faith which is the head and the foundation on which the church herself is built; like the dove, too, she ought, with gentleness and lenity, to strive to mitigate the ire of her adversaries." Cardinal Albani the more willingly embraced these opinions, because the plenipotentiaries of France had given a written promise that the modifications and restrictions should not affect any essential or interior discipline, but only relate to processions, burials, and other public ceremonies.

With regard to the article respecting the purchasers of church property, Albani and Merenda were both in favour of the concession; as, according to the terms in which it was worded, his Holiness considered the purchasers of the alienated property as proprietors only in consequence of his own promise, for himself and his successors, of leaving them in peaceful possession of it; and thus he acknowledged no rights antecedent to his own concession. If, on the contrary, the inverse order had been taken, and the Pope had

declared that the immutable right lay in the present possessors of the alienated church property, and that, therefore, the Holy See engaged never to seek to disturb it, this would have deserved severe censure, because it would, in some measure, have countenanced the error condemned by the second Lateran Council, and the Council of Constance, in Arnold of Brescia, Marsilio of Padua, and Giovanni da Garduno; and the heresies of the Waldenses, the Wickliffites, and Hussites. But, as it stood, the article was unexceptionable; the right of property resulting from the remission of the Pope, not the remission from a previous right.

On receiving these explanations from the Cardinal and the commissioner, Pius no longer delayed to give his consent, but at once ratified the concordat. He at the same time sent briefs to the titular bishops, commanding them to resign their sees:—some obeyed, but the greater part, especially those who had sought refuge in England, refused to resign. Of the constitutional bishops, Primat, Le Blanc de Beaulieu, Perrier, Lecoz, and Saurin, on making submission to the

morals no support, misfortune no hope; society was agonised to dissolution. These evils religion alone could remedy. In this conviction the concordat had been framed—the desires of the Consul, and the dictates of the Pontifical wisdom, had been approved by the legislators of the republic; and thus the seeds of discord would be destroyed; thus conscientious scruples ratified, and the impediments in the way of internal peace removed. He exhorted the ministers of religion to forget all former dissensions, errors, and misfortunes; to reconcile the country to the church; to unite themselves once more to the country; to train up the young to love the laws, and obey the magistrates; to inculcate that the God of peace was also the God of armies, and that stretching forth his mighty arm, he gave the victory to those who defended the liberty of France.”

The pious amongst the French were much rejoiced at the restoration of religion. It excited great joy in Rome also; but the satisfaction of the Pope was not without some alloy, for the Consul had accompanied the publication of the concordat with certain rules of ecclesiastical

trary to the laws of the Republic, or the canonical law of France—every offence against the liberty, franchises, and customs of the Gallican church—every act committed during the celebration of religious rites, which might either offend the honour of the citizens, arbitrarily disturb their consciences, or tend to oppression, outrage, or scandal. The bishops were, moreover, forbidden to ordain any ecclesiastic who did not possess an annual income of three hundred francs, or who had not attained the age of twenty-five years. Nor was less offence given by the article by which the Consul enjoined all professors of seminaries to subscribe to the declaration of the clergy of France in 1802, and to teach the doctrine of the Four Articles—an intolerable doctrine to the Court of Rome, at least as regarded the three last of them.

All these regulations concerning ecclesiastical discipline, although they were just and necessary, as well for the security of the temporal power as for the good order of the state; and although they had long been customary, not only in France, but in other countries of Europe, more especially

with the faithful by the sacred ceremonies. Their flocks have again returned to the tutelage of the legitimate pastors; the sacraments of the church are again celebrated with decency, and without hindrance; the standard of the cross is once more unfurled; the day of the Lord once more kept holy. The head of the church—with whom whosoever does not gather, scatters—is once more acknowledged; and, finally, a deplorable schism that, from the great extent of France, the celebrity of its inhabitants, the splendour of its cities, menaced the Catholic religion with great danger and serious injury, is now at an end. Such are the benefits—such the happiness, that the sacred day of redemption on which the concordat was published, has produced for France, filling her temples with penitent and pious worshippers.” After a short pause, the Pontiff thus resumed:—“ My venerable brethren, in the midst of all this satisfaction we are, nevertheless, afflicted by some severe wounds. With the concordat some articles have been published without our knowledge, of which it is our duty, according to the customs of our predecessors, to demand the

before the close of the year, taken place in Piedmont. The Consul had coveted this country for himself, but he delayed to seize it, and carefully disguised his intentions. He had even willingly received the Marquis of San Marsan at Paris, to negotiate for the restitution of Piedmont. The uncertainty and the equivocations of the Consul—his public offers made to the king after the battle of Marengo, and the presence of the Marquis at Paris, kept the people of Piedmont in suspense, and prevented all means of good government. Every one looked towards Florence, Rome, or Naples: the king, Charles Emanuel, resided in turn, as circumstances demanded. About him were many of the richest and most influential of the Piedmontese nobility; amongst others, Victor Alfieri, a native of Asti in Piedmont, a man of boundless genius, acknowledged by every one to be the father of Italian tragedy, and worthy to be not only venerated, but adored, by all the votaries of the Italian muse. Having hated and satirized kings when they were in power, he now set himself as busily to hate and satirize republics, since they had become potent; and this less on account

such was his intention. This decree assimilated the government of France to that of Piedmont, lest it should seem offensive to the new Emperor that the ruler of France should have acted without consulting him in a matter of so much importance: the decree bore a date anterior to the day in which the news of the Emperor Paul's death had reached him; for he hoped that Alexander, finding, on his accession, the thing done, would be brought to consent to it without difficulty. The decree dated the 2d of April, 1801, annexed Piedmont to France; as a military division, that was to be in six departments. The laws of the republic, administrative and judicial, were to be executed and published in Piedmont; the treasury was to be in common; after the 1st of June an administrator-general, with a council of six, was to govern:—Jourdan was appointed to this office. The six departments were as follow:—the Eridanus with Turin; Marengo with Alexandria; the Tanaro with Asti; the Sesia with Vercelli; the Dora with Ivrea; the Stura with Cuneo; but the name of the first was changed by the Consul, who began

human affairs, had willed that a prince of noble and benevolent mind should succeed to the throne of Russia; it had also willed that a general of some name should rise to the supreme authority in France. This general delighted both in philosophy and religion; he knew what moderation became the first, what protection was due to the second. The world would become happy if the powerful states of France and Russia should join for the same end. The human race was wounded, bleeding, disconsolate; the injuries it had received were terminated, but the remedy had not been found. Despotism was arrayed against it on one side, and anarchy on the other. If Alexander and Buonaparte should unite in the same design, limits might be assigned to despotic power, and an invincible bridle placed on licentiousness. The affairs of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland were yet to be arranged, and if Alexander would express his wishes, they should be fulfilled. The new century ought to begin with a new and happy destiny, these were the presages, the pledges given by heaven to Buonaparte and to Alexander. It was their duty to show to the

mening by Piedmont, which he thought it was necessary to keep, in order to hold the sovereignty of Italy without any intervening impediment, he commanded the decrees of the second of April to be put in execution. Austria powerless from defeat, England from distance, neither gave consent, nor offered opposition; persuaded, moreover, that if some unforeseen circumstance did not arise to aid them, human councils were vain. The Parisian commissioners arrived at Turin to regulate the state: some for the finances, some for the exchequer, some for the lottery, others for the public offices, the seats of learning, and the courts of justice. The antique simplicity of the administrative laws of the country had degenerated into complicated forms; the new ordinances, however, cost double as much. The amelioration of the judicial laws, both civil and criminal, was great, and so immense a benefit was derived from their prompt decisions, that it afforded some consolation for the loss of independence. So much for the things that were written; as for the secret arts of subornation and circumvention, I know not if they were pre-

he persecuted those who had assisted him, and caressed those who had contemned him.

As a matter of mere policy, this might have been wise, if the season of adversity could never arrive; but not otherwise, because thus he lost his friends without gaining his enemies; but of prosperity only did the Consul ever dream. Jourdan, who was esteemed a republican, still remained to the Piedmontese; but he was soon removed, since, although he had but feebly supported them, he was still looked up to as the head of the republican party. The praises of the Consul and the regrets of the Piedmontese accompanied him on his departure. He was replaced at Turin by Menou. It would be a tedious task, and ill becoming the gravity of history, to relate all the follies and whimsical caprices of this man's conduct; yet, I cannot but wonder that the Consul should have thought it expedient, in order to restore, as he said, the ordinances of monarchy in Piedmont, to send thither the Menou of France; and, to re-establish the religion of Christ, as he also said, to despatch thither the Menou of Egypt. It might be, that he hoped to terrify

in-law, he wished to open the way to greatness: nor was Murat of a bad disposition, his judgment only was defective, and his vanity overweening; therefore, although his heart was good, he bent himself willingly to fulfil the wishes of the Consul, let them be whatever they might. The division of the army which he commanded had been originally sent to Italy to reinforce the right wing under Brune, and to occupy Tuscany. On the peace of Luneville it had advanced to the Roman states, to await the moment for attacking the kingdom of Naples; and, after peace had been concluded with that power, it had entered the kingdom and penetrated even as far as Tarento, nominally, in order to oblige the government to observe the treaty and its promises of pardon to innovators; but, in fact, to menace the English, and to live at the expense of the country. As for the Roman state, as soon as the concordat was concluded, Murat stationed the troops that were still there, in Ancona, which was to serve as a bridle in the mouth of the Pope, although he coloured the fact with the pretext of defending the place against the English. In the same

the treaties, live in security and tranquillity. Whosoever refused to obey this mandate was conducted by force to the frontiers and expelled. That nothing might be wanting to the brutality of this proceeding, the occasion taken to put it in execution was during a popular tumult, which had arisen at Florence on the execution of a Tuscan soldier convicted of murdering a French soldier, as if the exiles had been guilty of rebellion against the laws of a hospitable country, and were in league with assassins. Certain, however, it is, that this alone was wanting to fill up the measure of the malevolence of the age—that those who, at the instigations of France, had made themselves obnoxious to their ancient lords, should now, like malefactors, be driven by a French general from the asylum they had chosen. Thieves and assassins of other countries might take refuge in Tuscany, and there abide in peace; the lovers only of the name of liberty,—men, if mistaken in their opinions, yet certainly ingenuous and worthy, could not be harboured there, nor there find repose or safety, but were driven forth by the very persons through whose influ-

Parma, had arrived in that city, where he awaited the deputies of the new kingdom. Murat, Ippolito Venturi, and Ubaldo Feroni, proceeded thither to salute him, and to acknowledge him as King of Etruria, the title that had been conferred on him. He assumed the name of Louis the First, and appointed Caesar Venturi as his lieutenant to the kingdom.

When he announced the accession of Louis, Murat descanted to the Tuscans on civilization and learning, praised the Medicis and the Leopolds, and exhorted them to consider the French as a nation of friends, who knew as well how to respect monarchical principles in foreign countries, as to cherish republican ones in their native land. Cesar Ventura took possession of the kingdom. During the solemnity, speeches were made by Francesco Gonnella, notary of state, Tommaso Maquani, royal advocate, and the senator Orlando del Benino, which were flattering in substance, although frank in expression; and, on this occasion, Gian Battista Grisoni complimented two of the female sex, the sister of the Consul and the widow of the minister of Spain. When Louis

spoken of to prepare the way for monarchy. Saliceti constituted for the republic of Lucca a grand college, or council, consisting of 200 rich proprietors, and 100 of the principal traders, artists, and literati. This council had the privilege of electing the chief magistrates. There was also a council of ancients with executive power, over which a Gonfalonier presided, who was elected once in two months from its members in turn; and, besides this, there was an administrative council, into which the ancients entered, and four magistracies of three members each exercised the offices of ministers. The ancients proposed the laws, and executed them; while an assembly of twenty, elected from the colleges, discussed and confirmed them. The Gonfalonier represented the republic, promulgated the laws, and signed the acts of the ancients. The cantons of Serchio with Lucca, of the Littorale with Viareggio, of the Apennines with Borgo as far as Monzano, composed the republic. Saliceti the first time chose the magistrates. These were good institutions, but time corrupted them. The fate of Tuscany was connected with

that of Parma. On the death of the Duke of Parma, the sovereignty of the state devolved to the French republic. The Consul sent Moreau de St. Mery, the councillor of state, to administer the affairs of the Duchy; and St. Mery, who was a man of benevolence and probity, ruled with mildness and justice. If not learned, he was yet not wholly unlettered, and was an admirer, both of literary men and of their works: every exalted idea pleased him. He gave way, however, to some vanity; and, as individual vanity is intolerable to the spirit of universal ambition, he fell into disgrace with the Consul. Nothing permanent could, at this period, be arranged for Parma, because the Consul, who was securing the territory for himself, did not choose even to appear to resign it to others.

The mind of Buonaparte was capable of exercising the most contrary qualities in the prosecution of his designs. Cautious and patient circumspection, continued for a course of years, was evinced in the preparation of his plans; but, when the moment of their maturity arrived, impetuous haste and bold rapidity marked their execution.

Having reconciled himself to the Pope, defeated Austria, and deluded Alexander, being also confident of peace with England, he applied himself to bring into effect that which he had so long conceived in his own mind, and had so pertinaciously pursued. He was anxious that the first impulse should come from Italy, fearing that a certain residuum of republican opinions in France might prove of bad consequence, if the way were not smoothed for his design by some exciting precedent. He knew that example has powerful effect on our imitative race, and that men willingly conform to precedent. Previously, therefore, to declaring himself in France, he resolved to make his experiments in Italy, believing that the Italians, as a conquered people, would be more submissive to his will. Thus, having conquered Italy by the arms of France, he sought to vanquish France by the obsequious concessions of Italy. Public spectacles of theatrical effect are pleasing to men in general; and Buonaparte especially delighted in them. He knew that scenes of novel effect have a charm for all, and are peculiarly fascinating to the French, whose imagination is

naturally so powerful. His Italian machinations, therefore, were opened with imposing effect; and in Lombardy his most devoted adherents were artfully employed in disseminating the idea of the insecurity arising to the Cisalpine republic from the temporary nature of its government. “ Now was the time to secure to it the stability becoming an independent state; a strong government was necessary for internal peace and external respect; nor was any one more capable of bestowing on it the necessary ordinances than he who had first created and then renewed it. The ordinances it had received from the hero Buonaparte, in ninety-nine, were no longer sufficient, because they had been debased by invasion, were remembrances of discord, and were suspected of democracy by the neighbouring powers. To secure peace in Europe and in Italy, public tranquillity should no longer suffer the risk of disturbance from ill-arranged systems. It was desirable to live under republican institutions, but not such as were too widely dissimilar to the ancient governments which had been preserved in Europe. The Cisalpine state, aided by France, was the only power in Italy

capable of keeping Austria in check, formidable as she was by the acquisition of the Venetian territory; but the republic could acquire the necessary strength only by a form of laws conducive to stability. Various were the dispositions, the interests, and the opinions, of the Cisalpine population; nor could Venetians, Milanese, Modenese, Novarese, and Bolognese, concur in the same desires, or even wish exactly the same thing. The traces of ancient rivalry were visible: separate and dissentient parts could never form one strong united body, if a strict government and a vigorous hand did not constrain them to unity of design. A new regimen was become necessary to concord and firm peace with other powers. It was also requisite to the tranquillity of the Cisalpine republic, and by the happy fortunes to which they were invited."

Whilst these ideas were disseminated amongst the people, Petiet negociated with the chiefs of the republic, in order that the imperative commands of the Consul might appear to be the desires and the spontaneous supplications of the nation. When the consultations were concluded

at Paris for the design, and at Milan for its execution, a decree was issued by the legislative council of the Cisalpine republic, commanding an extraordinary consulto to proceed to Lyons, in order there to frame the fundamental laws of the state, and to give information to the Consul as to the persons eligible for admission into the three electoral colleges. This assembly was to consist of the actual members of the legislative council ; of those of the executive commission, with the exception of three, who were to remain behind for the government of the country ; of a deputation of bishops and of curates, and of deputations from the tribunals, the academies, the universities, the national guard, the regular troops, the notables of the departments, and the Chamber of Commerce. The number, in all, amounted to 450. There shone a Visconti, archbishop of Milan, a Castiglione, a Monticucoli, an Opizzomi, a Rangoni, a Melzi, a Paradisi, a Caprara, a Serbelloni, an Aldrovandi, a Giovio, a Pallavicini, a Moscati, a Gambara, a Lecchi, a Borromeo, a Triulzi, a Fantoni, a Belgiojoso, a Mangili, a Cagnoli, an Oriani, a Codronchi, archbishop of

Ravenna, a Belisomi, bishop of Cesena, and a Dolfino, bishop of Bergamo. Some went to Lyons from good will, some from fear, some from ambition. Great expectations were formed in Lombardy, and in France the public mind was profoundly attentive; for it seemed something wonderful to see an Italian nation adjourning itself to France, there to regulate its destiny. In a public manifesto, the Cisalpine government exhorted its deputies to lay the foundation of salutary institutions in the midst of the greater nation, in the presence of the author and restorer of the Cisalpine republic. "No one ought to decline the task: it was their duty to show, by their exalted personal qualifications, how great was the worth of their nation,—to acquire for her love and respect, and to wrest from calumny every pretext. They were to bear with them to the congress, neither envy, hatred, nor partiality; but were to display to the world, whilst acting faithfully, honourably, and patriotically, that they were those same Cisalpines who, amidst the inevitable tumult of conflicting passions, amidst all the perplexities of frequent change, amidst the

viciissitudes of opposing political events, had never favoured revenge, discord, faction, persecution, or encouraged cruelty. It was theirs to prove that the Cisalpine nation deserved her reputation for loyalty and benevolence; to prove that, if she was destined to take a high rank amongst nations, it was a rank to which she was worthy of being raised. To herself alone was she to be indebted for her institutions; to herself alone would the failure be attributed, if such joyful auguries, such exalted hopes, should prove to have been in vain."

These noble sentiments of patriotism, and this renunciation of all partial affection and interest, were inculcated by Sommariva, the president of the government. At Lyons, the deputies found Talleyrand, the minister, who had made himself master of all the Consul's wishes. There also was Marescalchi, recognised by France as the Cisalpine minister for foreign affairs, who carefully watched the countenance of Talleyrand, and obeyed every sign it gave. The point of importance was, that those things should appear to spring from unbiassed discussion, which the

sul had already imperiously commanded. He had already been liberal of phrases,—saying that “he desired the felicity of Lombardy; that he wished to win for her the opinions of the wise. For nothing was he more desirous than for her independence and welfare; he loved her as a favourite daughter; he esteemed her as a part of his own glory.” These artifices took root, and the business was well arranged. The deputies set out in five divisions, representing the five nations, that they might examine the constitution given by Petiet, at Milan, on the part of the Consul, and consider how it might be put in execution as a fundamental law.

Whilst the deputies were debating at Lyons, those who deputed them were tormented by military license: an inexorable government afflicted them by imposing contributions; they complained of the loss of property, of innumerable insults, and of the harshest slavery; but the cries of the afflicted at Milan were smothered in the shouts of the revellers at Lyons. At Lyons they discussed and obeyed: when these discussions had been continued long enough for a suffi-

cient demonstration of dignity, the Consul arrived at Lyons on the 11th of January. The Lyonese and Cisalpines ran to meet him, in emulation of each other. It was a grand spectacle for him who looked only on the exterior, but a lamentable one for him who looked within; for there they were plotting to abolish by law that liberty which had before been destroyed by abuse. Every one was astonished by the suavity and simplicity of the Consul, qualities which they thought must be a part of greatness; and adulation streamed forth. The republicans (if any there were) were devoured by rage, but they dissembled, not so much to avoid being considered factious, as to avoid being considered madmen or fools; for such were already the names the age was beginning to apply to them. Buonaparte put his hand to the work: he summoned the Presidents of the Assembly, and discussed with them the subject of the constitution: now he approved, now he amended, now asked for advice. Mildly expressing dissent, patiently hearing opposition, he seemed to receive from others those opinions with which he himself furnished them. The penetrating wondered at

his art; the unsuspecting admired his modesty. At the end of the discourses which were permitted they came to the conclusion which had been commanded: the constitution was approved; the electoral colleges seemed a good and fundamental ordinance. The Consul nominated them, the first time, from a double list presented by the assembly; but the principal key had not yet been struck, that for which half Italy had been made to come into France. An example rather than a constitution was expected from the Italians. A president was to be nominated for Lombardy. The choice as to the person was of consequence, as was also the duration of the office; for Buonaparte did not relish temporary magistracies. It was insinuated to the Cisalpines, that they should make him the head of their republic—should appoint him president for ten years, with the capability of being re-elected as often as might be desired. These two points had some difficulties attending them, partly from the Cisalpines themselves, partly from the offence arising to other powers, from the too evident dependence on France, if the Consul should be the ruler of

Lombardy. It implied also the confession, that no Cisalpine was capable of governing. Some inclined to give their votes to Melzi; the ministers of Buonaparte were diligent with his partisans; now praising Melzi—now affirming that great authority would be given to him under the new government. All these artifices produced the desired effect. The Cisalpines presented themselves before the Consul with the declaration of their resolutions; and this was drawn up with such adulation towards him, and such depreciation of themselves, that I do not believe the annals of history can furnish a meaner or a more disgraceful act. They confessed, nay, even laboured to prove by argument, (to such baseness had he reduced them) that there was no Cisalpine who could fitly govern the state. The Consul enjoyed in these humble words the fulfilment of his own orders, and promised to take his place on the morrow amidst the public assembly of the Cisalpines. Accompanied by the ministers of France, by the counsellors of state, by the generals, the prefects, and the municipal magistrates of Lyons, amidst the joyous greetings and

the festive plaudits of the Cisalpines, he took the elevated seat prepared for him, and thus addressed them:—"I have assembled you around me at Lyons as the principal citizens of the Cisalpine republic. You have furnished me with information sufficient to enable me to fulfil the exalted duty imposed on me, as the first magistrate of the French people, and as the founder of your republic. I chose your magistrates without partiality as to place or party. As to the supreme rank of president, I have not found any man amongst you who, for services rendered to his country, for his authority with the people, or his separation from party, has deserved such an office. The reasons you have prudently alleged have convinced me: I consent to your desires, and will support, as long as it may be necessary, the great weight of your affairs. Amidst my numerous cares, it will be grateful to me to hear of the stability of your government, and the felicity of your people. You have no general laws, no national customs, no powerful armies; but God blesses you, since you possess all that can be created to form them,—a numerous population,

fertile plains, and the example of France." This arrogant speech was followed by the loudest plaudits, both from French and Cisalpines. To the former, servitude was mitigated by domination over foreigners; to the latter, it was embittered by contempt. But the slaves of either side applauded as vehemently as if they had been both honoured and free. They expressed a desire that the republic (this was preconcerted amongst the most devoted) should no longer be called Cisalpine, but Italian—a circumstance pregnant with consequences, especially in the hand of Buonaparte. To this, therefore, the Consul willingly consented. A reply was now made, in a strain of adulation, by Prina, who, being of a severe and arbitrary disposition, had thoroughly understood the Consul, and the Consul him, and he sought to push himself into authority. He pleased, and in reward received honours and power.

The Italians proclaimed the Consul president for ten years, with the capability of being re-elected; Melzi was appointed vice-president. The latter, a man distinguished both by genero-

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penalties of the canonical law. If any should prove refractory, the bishops were to have recourse to the secular power. If any ecclesiastic were convicted of crime, his bishop was to be informed of the sentence, that he might proceed according to the regulations of the canons. Every public act offensive to morality, to religion, or its ministers, was to be prohibited. No rector was to be forced by the magistrates to celebrate a marriage against the canonical law. In this manner was the Italian church regulated in the council of Lyons. Some other articles, although laudable and wise, required the consent of the Pope, as they interfered with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Notwithstanding, the Archbishop of Ravenna, in artful discourse, assented to them in the name of all the clergy of Italy, an assent which was unnecessary if the secular power had a right to ordain, and insufficient if the authority of the Pope were indispensable. But the Consul, confiding in the first warmth of his recent friendship with the Pope, entertained no fears of opposition on his part, and he knew that daring assumption generally bends and intimidates others.

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As for the civil ordinances, the three colleges—of landed proprietors, of scientific men, and of traders, were the foundation of the government; in them was vested the sovereign authority. Their office was to nominate the members of the Censorship, of the Council of State, of the Legislative Body, of the Tribunals of Revision and Cassation, and of the Chamber of Finance. Further, they were to impeach the magistrates, if guilty of a violation of the constitution, or of speculation; and, finally, they were to decide in cases where the government censorship disagreed on accusations of this nature. The landholders were to hold their sittings at Milan, the learned at Bologna, and the merchants at Brescia; and they were to meet once in two years. The supreme tribunal was the censorship; which was to consist of nine proprietors, six learned professors, and six merchants. It was to accuse, and to judge the accusations brought before it, for violation of the constitution, and for speculation; it was to assemble five days after the recess of the colleges; and its sittings were to last for ten days, and no longer. This was a wise institution;

but the servility of the age rendered it useless. The government of the state was committed to a president, a vice-president, a council of state, executive ministers, and a legislative council. The president possessed the executive power, the vice-president the patronage. The ministers were responsible to the state for all their acts. It was the office of the Council of State to examine and authorize the instructions of the ministers for foreign affairs, and to examine treaties. They might, in extreme cases, suspend the laws guaranteeing personal liberty, and the action of the constitution: they had also a discretionary power to provide in any manner for the safety of the republic. If, after the lapse of three years, any alteration of the constitution should be judged necessary, they were to propose it to the colleges, and those assemblies were to decide.

The Legislative Council had the privilege of debating on the laws proposed by the president, and of advising him on any subject submitted to their consideration.

The Legislative Body registered the l

posed by the government, yet did not discuss them, but rendered their votes without debate.

Such were the principal ordinances of the constitution of the Italian republic. Perhaps they were the best, especially the three colleges and the tribunal of censorship, that Buonaparte ever devised.

When the constitution had been read and accepted, the Consul retired to his Lyonese palace, the populace following at his heels with acclamations. Then, after receiving the homage of the Italians, and naming the ministers, he set out, satisfied with his success, and with his Italian experiment, to the wonderful and wondering capital of France.

Great rejoicings took place in the Italian republic, on account of the constitution which had been given, and the president it had acquired. Adulation reached its acmé, and became tiresome from repetition. The magistrates took their places with much solemnity, according to the new statutes, and in taking his, Melzi spoke of the Consul in exalted terms—of himself, modestly—of his predecessors, severely; and

dwelt much upon the subject of corruption. Luxury was great ; and Melzi lived in a princely manner, but without any affectation of grandeur. The president being at a distance, independence seemed greater : soldiers were enrolled for the conscription, and good laws were framed. Prina, the Minister of Finance, rendered the revenue of the state so flourishing that, notwithstanding the annual tribute paid to France, the treasury was full, and the taxes light. Letters and science also flourished ; but adulation was more successful than liberality of sentiment ; and whoever was inclined to speak with any degree of freedom, was placed where no one could hear him more. The Council of State had been expressly created for this purpose ; and, being to the last degree submissive, devised means of constraining men to silence. This was felt by Ceroni, a youth of exalted and vivid genius, who, for some verses which touched on independence, was first imprisoned and then exiled : Teuillet, also, an Italian general, Cicognara, and some some others, were implicated in the same affair, merely for having praised Ceroni's verses. On hearing these things

the other poets and literati exerted themselves to attain the very climax of adulation.

Buonaparte said, that it was time to restrain the prevailing license, and in this he had reason entirely on his side ; yet, unhappily, he repressed alike not only what was pernicious, but what was salutary. Much was written at this time, but nothing which had any vigour, except some imprecations against England, for maledictions against that country had become a branch of flattery. Nothing was written that had any dignity, crawling adulation debasing every thing;—nothing had any originality, both the style and matter being squared to the model of the French idiom and French literature. Neither in this respect was what was good selected for imitation ; but the very worst productions—the most insipid pamphlets, the most crude and wretched journals served as examples. The president Buonaparte had found an effectual method of preventing writers from manufacturing what was contraband ; namely, by enriching them, and raising them to the highest honours. This they considered to be noble on his part ; and, accepting the

bright fortune offered them, they were either silent, or spoke only to flatter; notwithstanding which, they were sometimes assailed by ill humour: and, in the intimacy of the festive board it burst forth, and they then amused each other at the expence of the Parisian president. He knew and laughed at their sarcasms, for he did not fear them. In fine, literature was servile, the finances prosperous, the soldiery well disciplined, independence annihilated. A certain sentiment of an independent existence, however, began to be propagated from mind to mind, which, in time, might have produced fruit. Melzi, whose soul was wholly Italian, and who loved his country, carefully fostered these feelings, which, joined to the nobleness of his conduct, had great effect. These proceedings, however, were not agreeable to the president, and he therefore no longer held Melzi in the same favour as formerly.

In the meanwhile, works of singular magnificence arose. The Forum of Buonaparte, as it was called, occupied the place where the Castle of Milan had stood; and the design was admirable,

and had much of ancient Roman grandeur. The completion of the Cathedral, which had so long remained unfinished, was also undertaken, and the work was so vigorously prosecuted, that more was now done in a few years than had before been accomplished in as many centuries. Liberty had become impossible, but splendour was acquired. All these things, and the name of the Italian republic, singularly delighted the people of the Peninsula. Thus lived the Italians for a time, till new designs of Buonaparte brought on new dangers, and a change of fortune.

This name of the Italian republic, and the circumstance of Buonaparte being made its chief, gave umbrage to other powers, especially to Austria, whose vigilance was excited for her Italian possessions. The Emperor Alexander himself, who had already conceived some suspicions in consequence of the great authority the Consul had arrogated to himself in Switzerland, was still more alienated by the result of the conference at Lyons; and thus a rupture between France and Russia seemed imminent. The Consul, who was unwilling to be arrested half-way, endeavoured to

mitigate these discontents by publishing a manifesto, in which he laboured to show that, in retaining the Cisalpine republic, France had not appropriated too much to herself, nor even so much as the other potentates. He compared the present power of France with that she had possessed before the Revolution, affirming, that then she had commanded the states of the King of Sardinia, from the jealousy felt on account of the pretensions of Austria to Monferrat;—Venice, from the necessity which that state felt of a support against the ambition and near vicinity of the same power;—Naples, by her family compacts: but now Venice was subject to Austria, and the family compact was at an end. Hence Austria would have been mistress of Italy, had not France acquired fresh strength by the accession of the Italian republic. On the subject of Piedmont, he was silent, as if silence could conceal the act of possession. With regard to the rest of Europe, Poland was the prey of the greater powers, Turkey had no influence, Sweden was impotent. The acquisition of the four departments of the Rhine did not compensate for the re-partition of Poland. The

destruction of Tippoo Saib had already given great increase of power to England. The wishes of France were moderate: she had restored by treaty what she had conquered in war; but she would not, by consenting to weaken herself too much, derogate from her dignity, or diminish her accustomed power. Her only desire was to prevent the preponderance of any other power in Germany or Italy: she did not seek to exercise dominion over others, neither would she suffer others to dominate over her. Whoever would calmly consider the matter, must perceive that, by her new acquisitions, she had not gained new force, but had merely kept up her former strength.

The recent government of Genoa still savoured too strongly of democracy, and the Consul desired to set up there his usual ladder of aristocracy. They supplicated him to give them a constitution, to which he willingly consented. The governors joyfully announced the happy news to their fellow citizens: "They had attained the height of their desires. He who had given peace to Europe was about to give form to the republic. The ground-

work would acquire immortality from a hero. They had been excited to make this demand by patriotic feelings and patriotic examples; and from it they anticipated the happiest results. It had produced a constitution restoring religion, securing liberty. The government of the state was committed to the rich, the industrious, and the learned; the rights of the citizens were rendered secure; public wisdom would become the guardian of public prosperity. The Ligurians, inferior to no other Italian people in illustrious men, were bound to show that the seeds of their ancient virtue were still vital; and that, rivalling their ancestors, they were worthy supporters of a name bearing such a weight of honour." As to language and style, this proclamation was much more pure than the corrupted Cisalpine, Tuscan, and Neapolitan writings; and, as to its matter, was not without dignity. Thus Genoa, which had already given various other noble examples, now offered a model of purity of language. According to the new constitution, there was an Executive Senate, presided over by a doge, which consisted of thirty members, and formed five magistracies;—

the Supreme Council ; the Council of Justice and Legislation ; that of the Interior ; of War and Maritime Affairs ; and that of Finance. Its office was to present to a national council the laws to be enacted, and to execute them when approved. The doge was elected from a triple list presented by the colleges, and continued in office for six years. He presided over the senate and the supreme magistracy ; represented the republic as to dignity and honours ; held his residence in the national palace ; and commanded the guard of the government. A delegate of the supreme magistracy assisted him in all his acts.

The Supreme Council was composed of the doge, with the presidents of the four other councils, and four other senators. To this tribunal, which was elected by the senate, appertained the execution of the laws and decrees, and the publication of such ordinances and edicts as it might deem necessary, all the other administrative bodies being held subordinate to it. It regulated foreign affairs ; had the power of suspending, for six months, both the magistrates immediately dependent on it, and others, including the judges

of the criminal tribunal; executed measures of internal and external security; superintended the impartial distribution of justice; controuled the finances and ecclesiastical affairs; guarded the archives; took charge of the public schools; and commanded the army. This body represented in the new constitution what in the old government was called the petty council; and possessed, in fact, all the real power of the government. The office of the doge was, as of old, merely honorary; and against him was displayed the jealousy of the ancient aristocratical governments of Italy.

Such was the government of the Ligurian republic: how it would be administered remained to be seen. The Consul ordained three colleges—of proprietors, merchants, and scholars; from whom all power, political, civil, and administrative, was to flow as from a common source. Every two years these colleges elected a syndicate of seven members, who had the power of passing censure on two members of the senate, and two of every other council or tribunal; and whoever was thus censured lost his office. Each district

named a judicial council; and these latter elected the members of the National Consulta, which possessed the legislative authority.

On the 29th of June the new government entered on its functions in presence of Saliceti, Minister Plenipotentiary of France, who, as usual, delivered an artful oration, filled with theoretical maxims.

On being thanked by the senate, the Consul replied with professions of the love borne by France to Liguria, "which in every change of fortune had shown its attachment to that country. The protection of France would therefore shield it from every danger; past misfortunes and the rancour of civil contentions were to be alike forgotten. The constitution and the laws, and religion, were to be regarded with affection. They were to encourage their naval power, and to restore the ancient glory of the Ligurian name. Ever should he rejoice in the prosperity and grieve for the adversity of Genoa."

To this the usual spirit of adulation responded. The senate decreed that two statues of marble should be erected in the vestibule of the national

palace, one to Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of a new world, the other to Napoleon Buonaparte, the pacificator of the old, for having enlarged the confines of Liguria, guarded her interests, and remodelled her laws. The work was recommended to the zeal of the supreme magistracy, to the genius of rival artists, and the patriotism of every Ligurian citizen. Besides this, the inhabitants of Sarzana, acquiring greater warmth in the traffic of flattery, supplicated permission from the government to erect in their city a monument to the memory of the Buonaparte family, which, as they said, derived its origin from them. They alleged that “the Buonapartean race, for three centuries before the fifteenth, had been resident citizens of Sarzana. The family had been illustrious alike from its possessions, connexions, and offices. A daughter of that house had been the mother of Cardinal Philip, uterine brother of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, of illustrious memory.” This petition was graciously heard, and Sarzana was willingly permitted to erect the proposed monument.

Whilst Menou continued his disorderly course

in Piedmont, the royal family of Sardinia wandered about Italy as exiles. The king, Charles Emanuel, devoted to religion, pursued by melancholy phantasms, and disgusted with the world by the misfortunes he had suffered, determined to abdicate his throne, and renouncing all worldly concerns, occupy himself solely in pious exercises, and the undisturbed care of his soul. This renunciation was performed without pomp or vain glory, and showed that if ambition is its own tormentor, moderation renders man happy in the most exalted, as well as in the most humble rank. The abdication of Charles Emanuel transferred his title to his brother, Victor Emanuel, then resident in the kingdom of Naples. The reign of Victor proved much less unquiet than had been expected from his well known love of arms. Notwithstanding this propensity, whilst every part of Europe was hastening on to ruin from the predominance of the military, he peaceably governed the island of Sardinia with a few soldiers: nor was there in this any mystery or art, as justice and lenity lent him strength, and insured his success.

The Consul, who had delayed the formal union of Piedmont with France, came at last to this resolution, not because Alexander granted his consent to it, but because he saw that a rupture with Russia was inevitable. His threats against the Germanic body, the military authority that he continued to arrogate to himself in the Papal states, in Tuscany and in the kingdom of Naples, his domination in Switzerland under the name of mediation, his presidency of the republics of Italy, the non-fulfilment of his promises of compensation to the King of Sardinia,—all had convinced Alexander that Buonaparte was more ready to take than to give. The latter also was aware that, amidst so many causes of discontent, the union of Piedmont to France would but increase his dissatisfaction, as to refrain in that one instance would not restore his friendship. This Senate therefore decreed, on the 11th of September, that the departments of the Po, the Dora, Marengo, the Sesia, the Stura, and the Tanaro, should be united to the territories of France. This union of Piedmont commenced the succession of similar appropriations of Italian

territories, which was of real utility to France, but the others were fantastical and capricious. This event gave rise to rejoicings in Piedmont, in which the nobles willingly joined, as they perceived from the court paid to them by the Consul and Menou, that the power which the intemperance of the democrats had for a time wrested from them, would now be restored ; nor was the joy of the people less sincere, because they hoped that a legal government would put an end to the licentious domination of the Egyptian chief.

With the exception of the states of Venice, all Italy, from Piedmont to Naples, continued for a time under two governments, one real, the other nominal. In Piedmont, reigned Menou, rather than Buonaparte ; in Parma, Buonaparte, rather than St. Mery ; at Genoa, the Consul, not the Senate ; in Rome, too, the Consul, rather than the Pope ; in Tuscany, Murat, rather than Louis ; in Naples, Napoleon, rather than Ferdinand. Harsh and arrogant was the style of dictation to all these governments. Menou alone did whatever he liked, and ruled according to his own pleasure. The Consul acceded to his wishes in

every thing ; and if the Egyptian only hinted to him that those who complained of him were democrats, he instantly approved of his acts and praised them. Piedmont paid the wages of the terrible equivocations of Egypt. The rest obeyed ; some from fear, some from ambition.

At this time Louis, King of Etruria, died of an acute fever, by which event his throne was transferred to the Infant of Spain, Charles Louis ; but he being a minor, the regency devolved on the widowed Queen, Maria Louisa. Yet what power had accrued to the Infant may be seen by the orders published by Murat in Leghorn, at the time of his accession, giving up this city to the French troops he commanded, as if it had been in a state of siege. The Buonapartean general also sent troops to Piombino, and occupied the whole Tuscan shore, in order to prevent all communication with the English ; he also arrested English visitors, seized such English ships as were in the ports, and impeded their commerce by his corsairs, who were sent against them from Leghorn. These proceedings were occasioned by the renewal of hostilities with Great

Britain after a short peace. In the midst of these acts of foreign insolence, Charles Louis commenced his reign, under the tutelage of his mother, in the month of August. The Florentine Senate, the magistrates and the deputies of the different cities, took the oaths. There were chariot races, emblematic designs, illuminations, fire-works, and the customary eulogistic poetry: they not only lauded Charles Louis, but also Murat and the Consul, calling them restorers of independence, gentle and just governors of the people.

Tuscany was much afflicted at this time by an universal and lamentable calamity. Towards the end of Autumn, 1804, a contagious disorder broke out in the fine city of Leghorn, occasioned, as it would seem, by the extreme heat of the summer, which, from the continuance of the south wind, was unusually hot and rainy. This disease was by some called the yellow fever, by others, the black vomit, and either name well described the strange symptoms which accompanied it. It began its ravages in the lowest, the dampest, and the dirtiest parts of the city, carry-

ing off its victims in seven, five, three, and sometimes in even the brief space of one day. It was most generally fatal on the fifth and seventh, and rarely lasted till the thirteenth or fourteenth day. To describe its progress would be difficult, as in different subjects it appeared in different forms; its victims suffering under the most various and intolerable tortures. Two symptoms, however, occurred in all cases: before and after death, the body, and more especially the bust, throat, and face, became yellow, and the stomach copiously threw up a certain black matter, resembling the dregs of coffee. A corrupted bile was diffused through the whole frame, even to the brain; and in every internal organ there was a greater or less tendency to putrefaction and mortification. The external skin was disfigured by small black points, or by large livid spots, especially wherever the body rested. The corrosive quality of the suffused bile was, in some cases, so great, as to occasion external and internal cancers; in others, the skin was excoriated, as if burned by fire. In the midst of these acute sufferings, as if he who was doomed to die ought clearly to foresee the

approach of death, the mind was preserved entire and unclouded till the moment of the last agony. This cruel disease was as fatal to the strong as to the weak, youths of robust constitutions passing from the most florid state of health to a miserable death in the space even of one day. This dreadful malady was frequently destructive of the vital principle even in those who survived the fever itself, and left behind it deplorable vestiges of its fury. The progress towards convalescence was tedious, sad, and painful. Some long remained in a state of stupefaction ; some in a state of continual tremour ; some, terrified by fearful phantasms, passed their days in melancholy, their nights in horror,—miserable signs that death had indeed been pressing closely on them. A strange and horrible corruption of the body often produced, besides the symptoms already related, the most unusual changes : some had a horror of water, as if bitten by a mad dog ; in others, the vision was so perverted that they saw every object twofold, or in increased size ; some were covered with boils full of corrosive humours ; in some, streams of blood poured from the ears ; in

others, the parotid glands were swelled to an extraordinary degree. The disorder raged most furiously in robust young men; it was most mild in the weak and the old, and in the female sex; yet, almost every pregnant woman attacked by it died. Very few children were attacked by it. Intemperance of every kind, especially drinking to excess wine and spirituous liquors, gluttony, and riot, rendered the disorder more certain and violent, and death more inevitable.

Various were the means resorted to by the physicians to subdue this lamentable disorder; but the simplest, as is generally the case, proved the best: calomel, jalap, and sudorifics were found useful; lemons, with small doses of tartar emetic were highly efficacious; warm fomentations of steeped mustard seed were serviceable, and nitrous acid, especially in weak constitutions, proved a powerful remedy. In some cases, too, the purple *digitalis* was of service. But a free current of fresh air, frequently renewed, proved the most powerful of all remedies, and its efficacy was so great, that by this means the virus even at a short distance was deprived of its baneful power.

On the other hand, it was seen that, when the air was impregnated with animal exhalations, the disease was quickly communicated, and its worst symptoms aggravated. It follows from this that the streets which were the worst ventilated and the filthiest, and the houses of the poor, were most miserably infected by the pestilence. On the contrary, the open streets and spacious cleanly houses, where the air was pure, were either free from the infection, or it there displayed itself in a milder form. Even in the places where it was most prevalent it seemed rather epidemic than contagious; attendants, physicians, relations, and priests who visited the sick, escaping the infection. In this particular, it differed much from other infectious fevers, especially the Egyptian plague, which diffused itself on every side, and affected those at a distance. This calamity did not extend itself beyond the city, although a great number of persons and a large quantity of goods were continually passing from street to street, and from the town to the country; neither did those who were about the sick communicate the disorder to others, unless they had previously taken it them-

selves ; nor did the clothes of the healthy, or the furniture of the houses of the sick, transfer the infection. And thus money, notes, and merchandise were circulated within and without the city as usual. Habit by a wonderful and unknown property of the human frame fortified it by degrees against the infection. In fact, while so many of the lower order perished, only one of the ministers of religion and three of the physicians who attended them with ceaseless zeal, perished. The effect of pure air was shown in the hospital of St. Jacob, which is built almost on the verge of the sea shore, and which, being admirably constructed within, enjoys the benefit of a continual free current of air. The sick had scarcely crossed its threshold ere they began to revive ; and, although they had before been languid, oppressed, and half subdued by the disorder, they soon passed from anguish to a state of tolerable comfort. The praiseworthy habits of the Tuscans proved the remedy of the malady, because, besides the purifying qualities of the air, that neatness in their houses and persons, which is so characteristic of the inhabitants of Tuscany, was favourable to

the sick, and the habits of the population were their best cure: nor in this season of misery were any guilty of the cruelty of deserting the infected, for the preservation of their own health. All received the necessary succours from the affection of relations, the kindness of friends, the piety of the clergy, or the providence of the government. The citizens of Leghorn were indebted for this either to a superior degree of civilization, or to the inspirations of Divine Grace.

From all that has been said, it appears that this fever differed much from those which physicians properly call contagious, as, for example, the Egyptian plague. How it was occasioned at Leghorn it would be impossible to decide; whether, as was commonly believed, the infection was brought there by a vessel from Vera Cruz, or whether, as seems more probable, it was engendered on the spot by the hot and rainy season, must remain a matter of doubt. The lamentable effects, however, of this loathsome and terrible disorder were but too certain; and it not only desolated Leghorn, but terrified the neighbouring cities, and kept Europe long in anxious

fears of being visited by the same calamity which had ravaged the provinces of America. These things I have endeavoured to relate with the greatest simplicity, because the unadorned truth is best adapted to make known the nature and the remedies of a disease which threatens to increase the sum of all those which already but too severely afflict suffering Europe.*

The ecclesiastical affairs of France had been regulated with the consent of the Pope, and it became necessary for the Consul to obtain his sanction for the recent arrangements in Italy, as Pius had loudly complained of the resolutions which had recently been passed, not only without his consent having been obtained, but without its having even been asked. The Consul had powerful reasons for wishing to gratify the Pope, and therefore, after some discussions at Paris between Car-

* The original gives every symptom of the disease in its various stages, but as the detail is somewhat disgusting, the translator has given only the general outlines of the frightful picture. Medical men are not likely to study their profession in history, and to the taste of other readers the "whole unadorned truth" would be offensive.—*Tr.*

dinal Caprara, Legate of the Holy See, and Ferdinand Marescalchi, Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Italian Republic, a concordat was concluded on the 16th of September, in the name of the Pontiff and that of the President; the substance of which was in all respects similar to the concordat of France. But the Vice-President Melzi, who had imbibed the doctrines of the school of Leopold, amplified the articles in favour of the secular power. He decreed that the privilege of bestowing the religious habit and receiving religious vows should be confined to the orders, convents, colleges, and monasteries, which were dedicated to the instruction and education of youth, and to the care of the sick, or other similar offices of peculiar and public utility. Every individual, desirous of taking holy orders, or assuming the monastic habit, must, in the first instance, obtain the permission of the government. The free communications of the bishops with the Holy See should not extend to the exposition of cases to be tried by the tribunals, nor affect any circumstances where the spiritual was connected with the particular jurisdiction of the

temporal authority. The bulls, briefs, or rescripts of the court of Rome were not to be put in practice for any purpose of exterior discipline, nor published without the consent of the government. Priests, candidates for holy orders, the clergy of the episcopal schools, novices, or those who had taken the vows in the religious orders, were alone to be exempted from military service. The government refused to lend its aid for the infliction of temporal penalties commanded by the ecclesiastical authority, for the correction of clerical delinquents, or to receive appeals from the ecclesiastical courts, except in cases of manifest abuse, observing accurately the limits and the modes of their respective jurisdictions; and, finally, the vigorous discipline of the church in its actual state was to be exercised, saving the rights of guardianship and political jurisdiction. These were wise, salutary, and necessary guarantees for the preservation of the secular authority; for the Catholic religion has, more than any other, the power of influencing through its ministers (who are but men) the resolutions of the rulers of nations; and, therefore, the latter are


bound to take effectual precautions against it, in order to secure liberty and the rights of the temporal power. But the Pontiff resented it seriously, and complained bitterly to the President: while the latter temporized in his replies; and, wrapping himself up in his usual ambiguities, he neither gave nor forbade the expectation of alteration. In the mean time, although the Italian concordat, and, above all, the decree of the Vice-President, was more acceptable to those who favoured the doctrines of the Bishop of Pistoja, and the reform of Leopold, than to the Papists; they served, notwithstanding, to tranquillize the intimidated consciences of the people, who, having always adhered to the Catholic faith and revered the Pope, beheld with uneasiness the dissensions with Rome, and rejoiced at the restoration of harmony. The magistrates, the priests, the philosophers, the soldiers, and the people, all proclaimed the President matchless. Nothing was spoken of but him; his name and actions engrossed the minds of men, to the exclusion of all other names and all other subjects of interest.

But now the bihustral intrigues of the Consul approached their fulfilment. Glorious in war, glorious in peace, no other name of ancient or modern times appeared in the eyes of his dazzled contemporaries equal to his. His marvellous exploits in Italy, before and after his Egyptian labours, were still repeated from mouth to mouth, and were fresh in the minds of all. They recollected that he had suddenly raised the humbled fortunes of the republic to the highest rank of glory and of power; without him it had fallen, by him it had been resuscitated. "Monsters had prevailed when he was afar off; but, like a second Hercules, his presence had subdued them. In his absence, war had followed peace—his presence had displaced discord by tranquillity: nor with Austria alone had he procured concord, but also with Russia, England, Turkey, Portugal, with the Duke of Wirtemberg, and with the Prince of Orange. Barbarians themselves had negotiated with him for the benefit of France; Algiers and Tunis had returned to their ancient friendship; nor were the subjects of France any longer saddened by the sight of African cruelty.

French ships could freely and securely pursue their traffic in the Mediterranean, and the ensign of the republic were no longer insulted by lawless robbers. He alone had extinguished civil discord—had given a country to the exiled—had restored honours to Pius the Sixth, and had given repose to his sacred remains. The concordat entered into by him with Pius the Seventh had given peace and safety to conscience—protection to morals; and by him the generosity and fidelity of France towards the Holy See had been enabled once more to display itself; he had averted the thunders of the Vatican from France he had reconciled her to herself, and to all Christendom:—so much for religion and politics. To him the finances owed their abundance; the magistrates and soldiers their exact payments—while new-made roads, repaired canals, and security at sea, entitled him to the gratitude of the traveller and the merchant. Every thing had returned to its ancient splendour.—Palaces, dilapidated by time, or defaced by the rage of man, were repaired, and new edifices erected. France, beautiful by nature, was becoming more beautiful by

art. Ruins, the detestable signs of past discord, had disappeared; and massive piles, magnificent tokens of a generous government, arose in their stead.

“ Such were the fruits of peace; such of concord. The revolution was at an end, and the storehouse of innumerable miseries was closed. It was true that peace had again been broken by ambitious and faithless Britain: yet avenging hosts were already assembling on the shores of the ocean—the conquering fleets were already preparing. London itself would prove an insecure asylum to the corsairs who ruled the seas. It would quickly be seen how much the power of France and the fortune of the Consul could effect for the benefit of humanity against those avaricious and arrogant tyrants. Russia, it was true, induced by the artifices and promises of England, shewed a menacing aspect; but Alexander was far from inclined to yield to their proffers or their arts: neither anger nor misunderstanding could long subsist between those who were well-intentioned. Thus the Consul had given to France secure peace, and oppor-



tunity of victory. For so many important services, no reward could be found too great, or even equivalent."

Such was the language that was spoken;—what was written was still more forcible. The Consul, not shuddering at the iniquitous project of reducing to servitude a nation which overflowed with such devoted love for him, thought he had arrived at the time for accomplishing his designs; having, therefore, gained the royalists by restoring their country to them, the soldiers by gifts, the priests by the concordat, the magistrates by honours, the people by plenty, he hastened to appropriate to himself the name of that of which he already possessed the substance, adding in this manner supreme title to supreme power. It only remained to gain over the republicans to his party: this was done by the murder of the Duke D'Enghien. The first proposal was made by the Tribunate; the Senate did not delay to follow it up, partly from fear, partly from ambition. The 18th of May saluted Napoleon Buonaparte as Emperor of the French.

This act, although not unexpected, filled the

world with astonishment. The foolish royalists now perceived that Buonaparte was not, as they had expected, the man to act the part of Monk; the silly republicans found that he was not one who would become, as they had promised themselves, a Cincinnatus. The folly of the latter was the most inexcusable, because, without even noticing his other proceedings, his having said in the Council of Five Hundred on the 9th of November, 1799, that monarchy could no longer overcome republicanism in Europe, ought to have made them aware that it was his desire to subdue republicanism to royalty. However, as it was an age in which interested motives were all-powerful, and conscience, as Buonaparte well knew, powerless, the royalists quickly forgot the monarchy, republicans the republic, and both the one and the other eagerly caught at the Imperial bribes. Few of either party remained;—those few were termed fools. Of the European powers, England alone, who had never been deceived as to the disposition of Buonaparte, continued to oppose him, but in vain; the deceived but distant Alexander also opposed him;

Turkey, from fear of Russia, hesitated ; defeated Austria was silent. Prussia, uniformly misled by her rivalship of Austria, not only consented to, but encouraged, his plans. This had been one of the principal incitements to the daring of Napoleon. The first abettor of his schemes had been the Marquis Lucchesini, the Minister of Frederick at Paris. Louis the Eighteenth, who, until this time, perhaps from the hopes he had formed, had written and spoken of Buonaparte with more moderation than of the other governors of France, on this extreme act of assumption, by which every expectation of ultimate advantage to himself was taken away, resenting it deeply, solemnly protested against the usurpation, from his northern exile. Piedmont was consoled for the loss of her independence by an union with the power which predominated ; deluded Genoa hoped to preserve at least her ancient name ; the Italian republic, since liberty was lost, promised herself power ; Tuscany, judging, better than the rest, of the circumstances of the times, knew not what to fear nor what to hope, and bitterly lamented that the age of

Leopold had for ever passed away ; while Naples, already enslaved on the main land, remained in doubt of being able to preserve the island kingdom of Sicily. The Pope was terrified by the greatness of Napoleon's power, but the latter soothed his fears by his promises—by flattery, and still more by the services he required of him : because, although he returned to ancient usages, he had no legitimate title ; nor would he, on the other hand, admit the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, because, if he did admit it, he must confess that those who elected could depose ; and he did not choose to run this risk ; with earnest requests, therefore, not unmingled with threats, he besought the Pope to come to Paris to consecrate him. He believed, that consecration by his Holiness would give him influence over the opinions of those whom other motives had not already ranged on his side. It was certainly an important circumstance that the head of the church, in his declining years—in an unfavourable season, should repair to a distant and foreign land, to legitimize, by his sacred authority, him, whom every prince in Europe, either secretly or openly,

called an usurper. To induce the Pope to take this resolution, Napoleon insinuated to him that, if he had already done much for the Catholic religion, he would do much more if the Pope would consent to consecrate him. This request gave Pius great uneasiness; because if, on one hand, he was anxious to satisfy Napoleon, hoping to render this act profitable to the church; he felt, on the other, that to confirm by the efficacy of his office the effects of military power, was both painful and dishonourable.

His doubts were increased by the remonstrances of Louis the Eighteenth, the Emperors of Germany and Russia, and even of the King of England himself, who all, more or less openly, exhorted him not to offend the majesty of the throne, and the principles on which every modern sovereignty was founded, by an act so alarming to the monarchs of Europe.

“He ought not,” they said, “to abandon his ancient friends, and commit himself to the faith of his new ally; he ought not to authorize military violence, nor give his sanction to the ruin of Europe. He should remember that the reign

of violence was fugitive, bringing ruin on itself by its excesses; he should consider that, when this storm should disperse, he would require the aid of his ancient protectors. It was now no longer necessary to treat for the salvation of religion already secure, but to save the ancient thrones. The election was now to be made of legitimacy or usurpation, moderation or tyranny, law or military sway, civilization or barbarism. Finally, they represented to him how unworthy it would be of the Roman Pontiff, the head of the Christian church, to leave his own dominions in order to sanctify the supreme dignity in one who had employed religion as a means of fraud, promises to deceive, force to subvert. Italy was enslaved, Germany paralysed by fear, France subjugated; and, when he considered their state, he would perceive that it was not lawful for him to contaminate his apostolical dignity by sanctifying that which every law, divine and human, had condemned."

The Pope was much affected by these exhortations; and, as his mind was intent on the promotion of religion, it did not escape his notice

that the adverse party in France was very powerful in proportion to the short time which had elapsed since the restoration of Catholicism; and the Emperor Napoleon being so prompt and so arbitrary in all his resolutions, there was more danger to be apprehended in that quarter, if he should refuse Napoleon, than in Austria, or the other Catholic countries of Germany, if he should not conform to the wishes of the Emperor Francis. As for Spain, she was, from the devotion of the Prince of Peace to Buonaparte, rather the subject than the equal of France; and the Pope knew that a decision in his favour would be highly pleasing to the Spanish Court.

On the other side, the ruler of France was so affectionate, so flattering in his demeanour towards the Holy See, that the Pope hoped, not only to keep him within bounds, but to guide his conduct as he pleased. Above all things, he hoped to be able to procure some advantageous modification in the organic articles annexed by Napoleon to the concordat of France, and by Melzi to that of Italy. He desired and hoped, moreover, to be able to induce Napoleon to grant greater latitude

in the celebration of the exterior ceremonies of Catholicism ; for Napoleon understood public worship in one way, and Pius in another. He did not in the least doubt that his presence in France would act beneficially in making religion better known and better loved. He also found it difficult to persuade himself that an act, accompanied by such long and severe fatigue, marked by such great condescension in an affair of so much consequence to Napoleon, could fail to inspire in his heart, all soldier as he was, milder dispositions towards, and greater docility to, the See of Rome.

Having well and maturely considered these things—having several times debated them with the cardinals—having implored also the Divine aid, to which he piously referred every event, prosperous or adverse, he determined upon performing an act which had not been witnessed for many centuries. Resolving therefore to prefer the advantage of religion to every mundane consideration, he convened the cardinals on the 29th of November, and addressed them in these solemn and affectionate words :—

“ From this same seat, venerable brothers, we

formerly announced to you, how the concordat with Napoleon, Emperor of the French, then First Consul, had been by us concluded. Here also we participated with you the contentment which filled our hearts on beholding, by means of the said concordat, the return of those vast and populous regions to the Catholic religion. From that time forth, the temples that had been profaned have been re-opened and purified—the altars once more erected—the saving cross exalted—the worship of the true God restored—the august mysteries of religion freely and publicly celebrated—the legitimate pastors restored to feed their famished flock—innumerable souls recalled from the paths of error to the bosom of eternal felicity, and reconciled both to themselves and to the true God. In the midst of a renowned nation, the Catholic religion was raised from the obscurity into which it had been plunged, to the full light of day. At such great benefits we exulted with joy, and, in the inmost recesses of our heart, offered up our thanksgivings to God our Lord. This great and marvellous work not only filled us with gratitude towards that potent prince who had used all his

power and all his authority to accomplish the concordat, but further excited us, by the impulse of grateful remembrance, to use every opportunity which might occur, to prove to him that such were our feelings towards him. Now, this same potent prince, our most beloved son in Christ, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, who by his deeds has so well merited the favour of the Catholic religion, has signified to us his ardent desire to be anointed with the holy oil, and from our hands to receive the Imperial crown; that thus the sacred rights which place him in so exalted a rank, may be marked with the impress of religion, and may more powerfully draw down on him the celestial benediction. A request of this nature not only clearly evinces his religious feeling and his filial reverence towards the Holy See, but, being accompanied by express demonstrations and promises, gives hopes that the holy faith will be promoted, and its grievous injuries repaired—a work which he has already forwarded with such zeal and such labour in those flourishing regions.

“ You see, therefore, venerable brethren, how

those most renowned for doctrine and for piety—of those, moreover, whose words mount like incense to the presence of God, are weak, timid, and uncertain, our fervent prayers have been raised to the Father of all Wisdom, earnestly beseeching him that we might be enabled to perform that only which might be pleasing to him—that alone which might conduce to the prosperity and increase of his church. God! whom, with humble heart, we have so often supplicated—in whose sacred temples we have raised our suppliant hands—from whom in such deep necessity we have implored a gracious hearing and propitious aid, will bear us witness, that no other wishes have we formed—nothing intended, except for the promotion of the glory and the interests of the Catholic religion, the salvation of souls, and the due fulfilment of the apostolic office committed to ourselves, although undeservedly; in which sincerity be ye, venerable brethren, to whom we have declared every thing, our witnesses. When, therefore, a matter of such importance is pending, with the assistance of Divine Grace, labouring as the Vicar of God our Saviour,

we will undertake this journey, to which so many and such cogent reasons excite us.

“ The God of all grace will, we trust, bless our steps, and, in this new epoch of religion, will manifest himself with increased glory. After the example of Pius the Sixth, of venerated memory, when he went to Vienna, in Austria, we have, venerable brethren, ordained that the courts and audiences shall be held as usual. And as the necessity of dying is certain, the day uncertain, we have so ordained, that if, during our journey, God should please to take us to himself, the Pontifical Comitæ may be held. In fine, we request from you, with earnest prayers, that you will ever preserve towards us that same love which you have ever till now demonstrated, and that, when we are absent, you will recommend our soul to God, to Jesus Christ our Lord, to his most glorious Virgin Mother, and to the blessed apostle Peter, that this our journey may be happy in its course, and prosperous in its end ; and if, as we hope, we shall obtain this from the Fountain of all good, you, venerable brothers, who have ever been participators in all our coun-

cils and in all our cares, will also participate in the common joy, and we will rejoice together, exulting in the mercy of the Lord."

When the Pope reached the territories of France, in consequence of the orders of the Emperor, and still more owing to the piety of the faithful, he was every where received with reverence. The Parisians, who believed neither in the Pope, nor in religion, flocked in crowds to his presence, partly from fashion, partly from idleness, or flattery, to express to him by words sentiments of respect. He crowned Napoleon on the second of December; the Emperor made him wait in the church of Notre Dame an hour before he arrived there. When the Pope turned to meet him, the pious spectators wished to applaud the venerable old man; but they were prevented by Napoleon with imperious and decided gestures; and when the crowned and consecrated Napoleon quitted the church, Pius was left like one of the vulgar, unnoticed, and crowded amidst the immense concourse of the assembled people—a sad presage of what was yet to come. The newly consecrated Emperor delivered with so-

lemnity, in the Champ de Mars, the Imperial eagles to his soldiers. The ancient ensigns of the republic, which had seen the Rhenish, the Italian, the Egyptian victories, were left in the mire, which that day was very deep: so completely were the soldiers of all become the soldiers of one alone! To despise glory was a sign that liberty would not be respected.

The magistrates and the chiefs of the army went to pay their homage to their crowned sovereign; and Ceroni, his ancient comrade, finding him no longer so spare of body as he had been, congratulated him on his excellent health. "Yes," replied the new *Sire*, "now indeed I do find myself very well."

CHAPTER IV.

Buonaparte, having made himself Emperor of France, resolves to give himself the title of King of Italy.—The Italians present themselves before him, at Paris, and gratify their wish.—Repairs to Milan to be crowned.—Constitution of Genoa changed, and the territory united to France.—Fête given by the Genoese to the Emperor and King.—Submission of Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoja, to the Pope.—His reception by the Pope at Florence.—Artful insinuations of the Jesuits to the princes of Europe ; their restoration in the kingdom of Naples.—War between France on one side, and Russia and Austria on the other.—Its causes.—Massena Generalissimo of France.—The Archduke Charles, of Austria, in Italy.—Battle of Caldiera.—Brilliant victories of Napoleon, in Germany.—The Archduke retires from Italy.—Peace of Presburg.—Napoleon deprives Ferdinand of Naples of his kingdom.—Reasons of this step.—Joseph brother of Napoleon, king of Naples.—Bloodshed in Calabria.—Battle of Maida between the French and English.—Affair of the mouths of the Cattaro.—Ferocity of the war in Dalmatia.—Dalmatia and Ragusa united to the kingdom of Italy.

NAPOLEON, constant only in ambition, was by nature restless and inconsistent. He never, therefore, long adhered to the same plan, but was always

changing his ground to gain a greater elevation. The Italian constitution, as it had been decreed at Lyons, bore the appearance of durability, and, according to the magnificent speeches solemnly delivered by him and by Melzi at that time, was then intended to last for ever : yet two years had not elapsed, ere it was stigmatized as defective, insufficient, and incapable of producing any lasting good. Napoleon had made himself Emperor : he now chose to be King also. It was not without design that the representatives of the Italian republic had been invited to Paris to witness the Imperial coronation and consequent festivities. Melzi, the Vice President ; the Counsellors of State, Marescalchi, Caprara, Paradisi, Fenaroli, Costabili, Luosi, Guicciardi ; the deputies of the colleges, and of the magistracies, Guastavillani, Lambertenghi, Carlotti, Dambuschi, Mangone, Galeppi, Litta, Fe, Alessandri, Salimbeni, Apiani, Busti, Negri, Sopransi, and Valdrighi, were all present on that occasion. The Emperor made them understand that it behoved them to give him the title of King, and to condemn the constitution of Lyons. This wish they willingly

complied with, for the simplest sign from Napoleon, much more a command, sufficed to effect the most important events. Melzi, whom certainly nature had never formed for such degradation, presented himself on the 17th of March, with the other deputies, before the throne of Napoleon in the palace of the Tuilleries, and thus addressed him in a speech servile both in thought and in language.

“ Sire, you have commanded the Council of State and the deputies of the Italian Republic to assemble, in order to consider of that which is of vital importance to its present and its future destinies—the form of its government. I present myself before you, Sire, to exercise the honourable office of informing you what she has done and what she desires. First, the National Assembly, having duly considered existing circumstances, is convinced that our actual form of government is too little accordant to the exigencies of the age to be longer practicable. The constitution of Lyon was marked by all the signs of provisionary arrangements, because, adapted for circumstances that were in themselves but temporary, it ha

not in itself any strength from which prudent men could anticipate its durability and conservation. Not only reason, but the evidence of facts urgently constrained us to a change. This truth being conceded and acknowledged, for truth it is, the course to be followed becomes simple and plain. The progress of knowledge, the dictates of experience, point out to us a constitutional monarchy, whilst gratitude, love, and confidence, indicate the monarch. You, Sire, twice conquered, you created, you organized, and you to this day have governed the Italian Republic. There every thing recalls to memory your achievements, your genius, your beneficent acts. Only one desire could exist amongst us, only one could animate us. We have not neglected to consider maturely the ulterior objects your profound wisdom before indicated; but, however your noble and generous intentions may accord with our most cherished hopes as to a distant future, we are thoroughly persuaded that our situation is not as yet matured, so as to reach that elevated point which you design for us—political independence. The Italian Republic must yet—for such is the natural

order of things—for a time display the weakness incident to a newly-created state. The first cloud, however light, which should obscure the air, would to her be the cause of anxiety and fear. But where, Sire, can she find greater security, better founded hopes of happiness, than in you, who are still a necessary part of herself. By your pre-eminent wisdom only does she exist; that only can prescribe the time when her dependence shall cease, menaced as she is by foreign jealousy and internal dissensions. Being affectionately interrogated, we reply sincerely this then is the wish we declare to you—this the prayer we prefer to you, that it may please you to give us that constitution in which those principles may be put in action and confirmed which you have promulgated, which immutable reason demands, and which are necessary to the peace of nations. Be it then, Sire, your good pleasure to fulfil the prayers and desires of the Italian Republic. This request all, by my voice, earnestly beseech and conjure you to grant. If you will graciously hear our petition, we will tell the Italians that you consent to be bound by a sti

stronger tie to the defence and prosperity of the nation. Thus, Sire, you willed that the Italian Republic should be, and she was—Decree now that the Italian Monarchy may be blessed, and it will be so.”

The oration being ended, Melzi advanced and read the act of the Italian Council. The government was to be monarchical and hereditary; Napoleon was declared the first King of Italy; the two crowns of France and Italy were to be united in him alone, and not in his successors and descendants. As long as the French armies should occupy Naples, the Russians Corfu, or the English Malta, the two crowns were not to be separated. Napoleon was intreated to visit Milan to receive the crown, and arrange the laws definitively.

Napoleon's reply was delivered in a loud tone (but with his usual hoarse voice); “he had,” he said, “always intended to make the Italian nation free and independent. On the banks of the Nile he had heard of the misfortunes of Italy: thanks to the invincible courage of his soldiers, he had appeared at Milan when his Italian

people believed him yet on the shores of the Red Sea ;—whilst yet distained with blood, whilst yet covered with dust, his first care had been for Italy. The Italians now called upon him to be their King ; their King he would consent to be : he would consent to keep their crown, but only as long as their own interests should require it : when the expedient time should arrive, he would willingly transfer it to a youthful scion, who should have as much at heart as himself the security and prosperity of the Italian people." Nor was this all he intimated on the subject.

On the following day the Emperor entered the Senate. Talleyrand, whose ambidexter eloquence was able to prove this and many other things besides, now proved that, for the moment, the union of the kingdom of Italy to that of France was a necessary measure. The act of acceptance was read ; and Napoleon then spoke, selecting terms of feigned moderation and forbearance—"Sensitors," he said, "we have commanded this assembly that we might declare our whole mind to you on subjects of the greatest importance to the state. The empire of France is strong and potent, but greater still is our moderation. Hol

land, Switzerland, all Italy, and almost all Germany, we have conquered; but, amidst such great prosperity, we have preserved only a just ratio with other Powers. Of so many conquered provinces, we have retained only those which are necessary to maintain us in that relative rank in which France has always been placed. The partition of Poland, the provinces wrested from Turkey, the conquest of India, and of almost all the colonies, have caused the opposite scale to preponderate considerably against us. The useless we have resigned, the necessary retained; nor have we ever been excited to take up arms by the love of conquest, or by vain projects of greatness. A great increase would have accrued to our resources from the incorporation of the territory of the Italian Republic: notwithstanding which, after the second conquest, we confirmed its independence at Lyons, and to-day, proceeding yet further, we have established the fundamental principle of the separation of the two crowns; which separation we only delay, and have assigned, as its season, the period when it may be effected without danger to our people of Italy. We have accepted, and we have encircled our brows

with the ancient crown of Lombardy. This we will temper—this we will exalt—this we will defend against every attack, until the Mediterranean shall be restored to its wonted condition, and this primary Italian statute we will maintain whole and intact to the utmost of our power.”

The Emperor created Eugene Beauharnois the son of the Empress Josephine, a prince adopted him as his own son, and appointed him Viceroy of Italy, while Melzi was appointed Keeper of the Seals. Sunday, the 26th of May, was fixed for the assumption of the regal crown at Milan. Napoleon set out with an immense suite of courtiers, resolving to make his progress remarkable by a degree of splendour far exceeding regal pomp. Rejoicings and honours awaited him every where through France; and, on the 20th of April he arrived at Stupinigi, a small but delightful villa of the sovereigns of Sardinia situated at a short distance from Turin: here the magistrates assembled to pay their homage. In his presence, Menou showed the deepest humility. To some Napoleon spoke graciously—others haughtily, according to the secret whisper

of the Egyptianized chief. He harshly reproved the Archbishop Buronzo, reproaching him with being entirely devoted to the King of Sardinia. He deprived Pico, President of the Tribunal, of his office, and at one moment even threatened his life, accusing him of having betrayed him in the Venetian affair. In fine, he broke out into violent expressions of rage against the jacobins, calling them scoundrels, especially those who had served him. To this he was chiefly stimulated by Menou, who spoke as if he himself had never been a jacobin. The new sire added, that he would make them act uprightly; and whoever had not done so, should have to reckon with him. These things he said and did in such a plebeian style, that every one perceived that, if he possessed power, he was devoid of dignity, and still but a novice in his new part of Emperor. The Milanese deputies came also to Stupinigi, to render their homage, calling him their king, their regenerator, their father. To them he replied affably; saying, he considered them as his children, and exhorting them to lead a life of virtue and activity—to love their country, and to

promote order. As usual, he inveighed against the jacobins, believing that he should thus flatter the kings. He concluded with threats, saying, that if any one looked on the kingdom of Italy with a jealous eye, he possessed a good sword to destroy all his enemies; which was certainly true. The good Milanese were all aghast at these violent expressions, and argued from thence, that the life of ease and abundance drew near to its close. Having visited Moncalieri, he ran over the hill of Turin, and, having examined the Superga, entered the regal city in triumph. He inhabited the royal palace, which Count Salmatoris had with much care and diligence prepared for his reception. The Piedmontese ran in crowds to witness the unusual sight. They wondered not at the fact itself, for they had witnessed many such changes of fortune; but at the pompous pride which was displayed. At this conjuncture, Pius the Seventh arrived at Turin, on his return from France. He was lodged in the palace with Napoleon; they remained many hours closetted together. Pius hoped; Napoleon flattered:—in public, they made a display of strict union. The Emperor exulted

in this ; for he knew what effect the friendship of a pope has on popular opinion. He visited the public curiosities, speaking with incredible self-possession, as well of what he did not know, as of what he did ; but, whatever he said, whether it were right or wrong, was uniformly applauded. He spoke fluently of music, of medicine, of legislation, of painting. He desired to see the picture of Olympia, painted by Revelli, an artist of note ; and praised the work, but pointed out some faults, on which every one acted astonishment at the extent of his knowledge. The Pope, after having been courted by every one, even by Abdallah Menou,* departed by the road of Parma. Military shows next succeeded to discourses on the arts of civil life. Napoleon desired to visit the glorious field of Marengo, and to make it the scene of a mock-fight. A triumphal arch, erected at the gate of Alexandria, leading to Marengo, was adorned with emblems of the 'Italian, Ger-

* The reader will recollect that Menou embraced the Moslem faith virtually in Egypt. Buonaparte called himself a Mahometan ; but Menou went through all the ceremonies of a proselyte.

manic, and Egyptian victories. On the field of battle the Imperial throne was raised. Napoleon appeared in a splendid carriage, drawn by eight horses. He knew not how much greater it would have been, if, in this same place, he had appeared with the modesty of a simple soldier. But his vanity tarnished his glory. The soldiers who well remembered the labours of this field of Marengo, were drawn up in troops,—French Italians, Mamelukes, infantry, and cavalry: they were joined by the national guards, all in uniform, and in noble order. The Milanese guards of honour, who came to Marengo in compliment to their new lord, made a magnificent appearance. He was attended by the officers of the court—by chamberlains, ladies, pages, and general officers in the richest dresses. The sun, throned in a serene sky, shone resplendently: its dazzling rays, reflected and multiplied a thousandfold in such a profusion of gold, of silver, and of burnished steel, formed a spectacle of extraordinary brilliancy. An innumerable multitude of people had assembled. The plain of Alexandria resounded with festive shouts, with the neighing

laid the first stone of a column, in memory of the battle of Marengo ; and here terminated the pageantry. On the 6th of May, Napoleon arrived, with all the grandeur of the court, at Mezzana Corte, on the banks of the Po, when he crossed the river, on a vessel fitted up as a kind of temporary bucentaur, and thus entered the territory of his Italian kingdom amidst the acclamations of the populace who stood shouting with joy on the opposite banks of the river. He was received with pompous solemnity, and lauded in turn by the Prefect Olonna, by Melzi, the keeper of the seals, and by Marshal Jourdan who commanded the French soldiers stationed in the Italian kingdom ; but he replied coldly at the moment in which, above all others, his heart should have opened itself, and have poured forth from all its veins streams of affection.

Arrived at Pavia, he took up his abode in the palace of the Marquis Botta, designing to convert it to the uses of an Imperial residence, whether the Marquis, who in truth little desired to be so honoured, were willing or not. The guards of honour, the processions of students in coll

giate robes, the crowds of the populace, the tapestry hangings, the scattered flowers, the illuminations, the incessant plaudits, testified the joy the Pavians felt at the presence of him who had cruelly and avariciously delivered them over to pillage. He willingly received the university, which thus eulogised him through the rector and clerical professors.—“ Twice by victory, Sire, have you secured the destiny of Italy ; and twice, amidst the labours of war, have you generously put forth your hand in aid of banished and injured science. Then it was that this temple, sacred to knowledge, was by you restored to its ancient splendour ;—then were we called, under the shadow of your protecting shield, to the honoured ministry of its sacred rights ; we were then penetrated with profound gratitude. The French people have placed on your head the imperial crown ; and the Italians prepare for you that of their ancient kings. They offered, and you accepted it ; and your brow, the seat of exalted thoughts, will be adorned with a double diadem. This is the instant in which a free course is opened to our gratitude and in which

we are enabled to lay at your feet the solemn homage of our common exultation. We entreat you, whom the pacific not less than the warlike virtues surround, to lend a gracious ear to our respectful expressions, and to deign to be to us a father and a tutelary deity. Posterity shall learn from your example that the genius of arms united to that of the sciences, secures the happiness of nations. Come, then, amongst us, beneficent and magnanimous hero. Through your means, the fountains of knowledge shall more abundantly flow. Already, Italy, the illustrious country of the Virgils, the Galileos, the Raphaels, feels her hopes expand under your potent auspices. Heaven has formed you for what great; and, since it gives you every thing, may it also give you a serene length of days, that you may complete the labours of your beneficence, and the exalted destinies you have prepared for us. I have recorded this eulogistic discourse of the university of Pavia, because, although not entirely correct, nevertheless, in comparison of the corrupt and crude Italian writings of that period, it was

pure and clear in language, and the style not ill-adapted to the subject.

The solemn entry of Napoleon into Milan was magnificent : he entered the city by the gate of Ticino, which had been called the Gate of Marengo. The Municipality presented him with the keys on a basin of gold. "These," they said, "were the keys of the faithful Milan ; the hearts of its people he had long possessed." In reply, he requested them to retain the keys, saying that "he confided in the affection of the Milanese, and that they might confide in the assurance of his." This ceremony over, an immense concourse of people, rending the air with shouts of joy, followed him to the cathedral, where Cardinal Caprara, the archbishop, met him on the threshold, and there vowed respect, fidelity, obedience, and submission ; prayed for the preservation of so great a sovereign, and besought St. Ambrose and St. Charles, the glorious protectors of the superb city, to bestow on him and all his family perfect health and perennial joy. The ceremonies in the cathedral being ended, the

the happiest of people, and anticipated the brightest destiny for the little republic; but those who knew him suspected some hidden design, and anticipated some shameful deceit. The Ligurian deputies themselves, those at least who were not concerned in the intrigue (for some of them were implicated in it), marvelled at being so caressed and honoured, and their minds were therefore, not entirely free from fear. Admitted to an audience with the sovereign, they saw him serene and cheerful, congratulated him on his imperial dignity, and besought him to restore the commerce of his beloved Liguria. To this he replied, courteously, that he was aware of the affection of the Ligurians, which had always supported the armies of France in times of difficulty, nor were their distresses unnoticed or unheeded by him. He assured them that he would wield his sword in their defence; that he was certain of the good will of the Doge; and that he would receive both him and the senators with pleasure. He would go to Genoa; and proceed thither without guards, as amongst friends. After this audience they were received and caressed by the Emperor.

and the Princess Eliza, the sister of Napoleon, married to Bacciocchi, who had recently been created a Prince. Every one, in short, showed fair seeming to the Ligurian deputies at the court of Napoleon.

The iron crown having been brought to Milan with much solemnity and pomp, the preparations for the coronation were commenced; which ceremony was performed on Sunday, the 26th of May, a day on which the weather was auspiciously fine, and the sun shone brilliantly, as if in honour of the new sovereign. The Empress Josephine and the Princess Eliza preceded the Emperor, arrayed in gorgeous robes. Both were resplendent with diamonds—ornaments which, in Italy, they ought to have displayed less than in any other country. Napoleon followed, wearing the Imperial crown, and carrying the Regal crown, the sceptre, and the hand of justice. He was clad in the regal mantle, the train of which was supported by the two grand equerries; a pompous train of ushers, heralds, pages, aides-de-camp, masters of the ceremonies, ordinary and extraordinary, chamberlains and equerries, accompanied

fringes of gold. The whole formed a grand, magnificent, and wonderful scene, truly worthy of the superb Milan: high mass was sung; Napoleon took the oaths, and the heralds loudly proclaimed his accession in these words, "Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, is crowned, consecrated and enthroned. Long live the Emperor and King." The last words were repeated three times by the assembly with the most lively acclamations. By the pomps, and those of which Paris had been the scene, Napoleon contaminated all the glory he had won in Italy; for whoever, whether it be in peace or in war, labours solely for himself and not for his country, and ungenerously purposes to enslave her and bind her neck to the yoke, by the means of the services he renders her, will not fail in the end to experience the retribution both from man and God. Such actions are iniquitous, not glorious; and if they did please the age, the action itself was vile. When the coronation was over the magnificent train proceeded to sing the Ambrosian hymn, in the Ambrosian church. In the evening Milan was the scene of one grand

festival: immense bonfires were lighted, innumerable races were contested, and a balloon was sent up to the sky. On every side resounded songs and music; everywhere were balls and revels. All these pomps seemed to indicate security and durability, and already the authorities reposed to their satisfaction in their seats.

Whilst the Doge and the Genoese deputies were entertained with honours and flatteries at Milan, through the agency of the devoted adherents of France, an iniquitous deed was plotting; and Napoleon was preparing fresh disturbances for afflicted Liguria. The necessity of an union with France was first insinuated, and afterwards openly spoken of. This then was the first interpretation of the words uttered by Napoleon a few days before to the Parisian Senate, when he declared that no new province was to be added to his empire. By his command mercenary agents were employed to convince the Genoese that their independence had been lost at the period of the revolution: they averred, "that from that time, under various names and pretexts, Genoa had virtually been a slave; that the state had greater

burdens than it could support by its own power; but, united to France, it might bear them with ease. It was vain," they said, "to hope that the powerful would not rule the feeble: this had been sufficiently proved by Austria, who had become as an ally,—by France, who had come as a friend; but the pride of human nature disdained moderation in its desires, nor were the over-powerful ever inclined to be just. The condition of Europe was changed; France had obtained overpowering preponderance. By the union of Piedmont, and the allegiance of the kingdom of Italy, the diminutive Liguria was already surrounded and hemmed in on every side. Nothing then could be done, except to demand an union with France. Since, therefore, they could not rule alone, would it not," they asked, "be wise to rule in conjunction with another? The humble Genoese ensigns were insulted by the barbarians who poured forth from the caves of Africa, whilst those of France were respected. To fly the flag of Napoleon," they said, "would give security to the Ligurian navy; and thus a single political measure would accomplish that which

the ancient force of the republic was no longer equal to." To these representations were added flattering descriptions of the felicity that would result from being placed under the guardian hand of the heroic Napoleon. The Supreme Tribunal demanded the union with France, and the Senate supplicated Napoleon to decree it.

Both the artifices and the commands of the ruler of France and Italy having produced their effect (since the Genoese implored that for which he had commanded them to entreat), on the 4th of June the Ligurian deputies sought his presence at Milan,—when Jerome Durazzo, the Doge, who was destined by Heaven to witness the last hour of his noble country, and from whom the intrigues that had been carried on during his residence at Milan, had been concealed, all pale and agitated thus addressed the Emperor :—" The Genoese Ambassadors lay at the feet of your Imperial and Royal Majesty the votes of the Ligurian Senate and people. Having undertaken the charge of regenerating this nation, you have also bound yourself to secure its felicity,—a felicity to which your wisdom and valour alone can con-

duct us. The changes which have taken place in the condition of neighbouring nations, separating us entirely from them, render our own state insecure; and we are impelled by necessity to seek union with that France on which you bestow such lustre. These are the wishes of the Ligurian nation; and it is to express them that we seek your august presence, and now entreat you to listen to them graciously on our behalf. The motives which incite us to this resolution prove to Europe that it proceeds not from any foreign impulse, but is, on the contrary, the necessary result of our actual situation. Deign then, Sir, graciously to hear the prayer of a people which in times of the greatest adversity, ever showed affection towards France. Unite to your empire then, this Liguria, the field of your earliest victories, the first step of that throne on which, for the salvation of all civil society, you are seated. Be then, we implore it of you, so benign as to grant us that happiness which is derived from being your subjects; your Majesty can never find any more faithful or more devoted."

The miserable Doge, having pronounced the

humble speech, and delivered the suffrages of the Genoese people to their master, Napoleon replied; “that he had for a long time taken an interest in the affairs of Genoa; he had always promoted their advantage, and perceived that it was impossible for them now to perform anything worthy of their ancestors. Avaricious England closed their ports at pleasure, infested the seas, searched the ships; the pirates of Africa grew bolder every hour; Ligurian independence was in fact no other than slavery. As it was necessary, therefore, that Genoa should unite itself to some powerful state, he would fulfil their desires; he would willingly unite them to his own great people in recompense for their past services; they should return to their own country, and he would shortly visit them, and seal the happy union in Genoa itself.”

The act which had been voted was then read; its preamble and conditions were in substance as follows:—“Since Liguria has not sufficient strength to maintain her independence; since England does not acknowledge the republic; since the sea is shut against her by barbarians,

the land by custom-houses ; the Senate supplicated the Emperor and King to unite Liguria to their own empire." The stipulations were—that "The creditors of Genoa, like those of France, should be paid by the state ;—the freedom of the port of Genoa should be guaranteed :—in levying taxes and imposts, the sterility of the soil and the high price of labour should be considered ;—the custom-houses and barriers between France and Genoa should be abolished ;—conscripts should be raised only for the sea-service ;—the duties on imposts and licences should be so regulated that the native proprietors and manufacturers should derive a profit ;—causes, both civil and criminal, should be decided either in Genoa or in one of the departments of the empire nearest the frontier ;—lastly, the purchasers of national property should be secured in their possessions."

Napoleon dissembled as to these conditions, replying ambiguously ; as he chose to observe rather those amongst them which accorded with his own ideas, than those which the Genoese desired. But for the time, wishing to mitigate the bitterness of the actual fact by the agency of a man

mild and prudent character, he dispatched Prince Lebrun, Archchancellor of the Empire, to Genoa, to assimilate the laws to those of France. Nothing now remained but to celebrate with festivals the loss of its political existence as a nation. Napoleon arrived on the 30th of June at Genoa, attracted by the desire of listening to Genoese adulation, and of seeing a nation of slaves. The whole city poured forth to behold him. He arrived on the side of the Polcevera: the cavalry met him at Campo Marone; the bells rang gay peals; the batteries discharged salutes of artillery; the frigates and smaller craft floated round the harbour to display the signals of rejoicing. Whoever was touched by ambition assumed a calm demeanor; the Genoese ladies attentively scrutinized Napoleon, in order to judge what kind of man he might be; amongst the people, some were lost in wonder, whilst others jested with sailor-like drollery. Then was displayed the obsequiousness of the nobles:—Michael Angelo Cambiaso, who had been created Syndic by Lebrun, presented the keys, saying, that “Genoa, termed the Proud from her local

magnificence, now obtained a proud destiny giving herself to a hero. For many centuries had jealously preserved her liberty,—this had been her boast; but a prouder boast was now hers, in delivering the keys of the queen of cities into the hands of him who, exceeding all others in wisdom and valour, was puissant enough to preserve her pure and uninjured." Napoleon answered courteously, and returned the keys. Spina, the Cardinal Archbishop, awaiting him on the threshold of the church of St. Theodor, wafted incense to him from the sacred censer, and Louis Corvetto, the President of the Genoese Council, addressed him as the liberator of the good people of Genoa, whom he had adopted as his children;—"He was now in the midst of his family, and the Genoese forgot their past calamities; every other sentiment was absorbed in the one engrossing feeling of love for the Emperor and King. Through this were the Genoese the most devoted of subjects; through this were their most sacred duties fortified by the tenderest affections. He was entreated not to disdain the simplicity of their expressions. The hero,

sovereign, the father, would doubtless take in good part their offered tribute of admiration, love, and fidelity." Then, in his own name, and that of Bartholomew Boccardi, a man of no mean intellect, and always a devoted partisan of France, he augured happiness to his country; and, calling Napoleon greater than Cæsar, exhorted him to change the original Cæsarean sentence, and say—*I came, I saw, I blessed*. This exquisite flattery pleased him to whom it was addressed, and Louis Corvetto was made a councillor of state. This was fortunate for the Genoese, who, having lost their ancient name, found in Corvetto one who affectionately loved them, who prudently advised them, who usefully advocated their interests with the master of the world, and who, never obeying the dictates of party spirit or ancient enmity, acted only for the true interests of his countrymen.

Napoleon listened to these immoderate praises with so much composure and hardihood, that I am lost in amazement at his effrontery. He was lodged in the Doria palace, which had been sedulously prepared for the purpose. The com-

plimentary gratulations ended, the fêtes began. They were commenced on the sea: a structure which they called the Temple of Neptune, or Ocean Pantheon, afforded a magnificent spectacle. It was erected on a platform of vessels, which did not however appear above the water, for it seemed to stand on a verdant sward, and was moved through the waves by means of concealed machinery. This edifice was crowned by a granitic cupola, supported by sixteen columns of the Ionian order, and was adorned by the statues of marine deities. On the external and internal embellishment was an inscription, composed by the priest Solari, which signified that "the Ligurians augured to Napoleon, Emperor and King, the sovereignty of the sea, as he already possessed that of the land." The whole construction was ingenious and beautiful; and, when it had been brought to the middle of the harbor, Napoleon took his seat, the by-standers delightedly gazing on the splendid scene. Four floating islets, representing four Chinese gardens, adorned with palms, cedars, lemon, orange, and pomegranate trees, refreshed with gushing fountains

the purest water, covered by cupolas, entwined with various colours, and ornamented by a surprising quantity of harmonious little bells, which were put in motion by the continual movement of the machinery, kept gliding from one part of the harbour to another. An innumerable fleet of boats, small barges, skiffs, canoes, and gondolets, tastefully ornamented, added the shifting changes of their sails and oars to the changes of the ever varying sea, and at every moment presented to the eye of the spectator a thousand various groups and figures. A regatta, or rather a race between six ships, next took place: two issued at once from each of the marine gates, and with astonishing velocity strove for the prize of swiftness, which was gained by that bearing the flag of the bridge of Spinola; and the plaudits and festive shouts of the multitude mounted to the skies. Night now arrived, but the scene became more beautiful, for the crystal lustres that were suspended between the columns of the floating temple were suddenly illuminated, and threw on the moving waters countless rays of brilliant light, which were reflected back from its smooth surface in

dazzling scintillations of varying colour. The small cupolas of the islets were also illuminated to correspond with the lofty dome of the pantheon: stars of fire encircled the temple and the islets, in the manner taught by Vitruvius. The agile barks also hung out their lights, which, as they bounded along the waves, or swiftly turned round, seemed the play of lightning on the water: when beheld from one side of the shores, they were mingled in the full blaze of the temple and islands; but, from the other, they strewed the darkness of night with innumerable wandering stars. Whilst the eye was enraptured by sights of such beauty, the ear was enchanted with sounds not less exquisite. The bowers of the Chinese islands were filled with bands of vocal and instrumental musicians, in appropriate costume, who executed the gayest music. At the same time, the walls of the city seemed a rampart of fire; all the palaces, and almost all the houses were illuminated, and the entire amphitheatre of Genoa the Superb proudly answered by its magnificence to the splendour of the sea. The tower of the Lanthorn burst

forth into instantaneous brilliancy, with lights disposed in a thousand beautiful forms, attracted the eyes of all, and called forth an universal intense shout of applause. The wonder was still increased, when from its top burst forth torrents of flame, as if it had been suddenly transformed into a volcano. Nor were the fireworks the least remarkable part of this magnificent festival: two temples of fire, of exquisite beauty, rose at the same instant from the opposite points of the mole, while other fireworks prepared with astonishing skill now darting into the water, seemed for a moment extinct, and now burst again into the upward air with redoubled splendour. Thus did the soft movements on the peopled sea, the resplendent beauty of the illuminations, the mirthful sounds of the exquisite music combine to form a scene unequalled for delight and grandeur.

These pleasures were enjoyed by Napoleon till ten in the evening: then, leaving the marine temple, he was conducted to the magnificent palace of Jerome Durazzo, where he found new and exquisite honours—new and exquisite flatteries. The Genoese celebrated servitude with greater

pomp than they had ever done liberty. The reason of this is evident : liberty pleases every one, no one seeks to pay court to her ; but despotism is odious to all, and all seek to appease its spirit. A sumptuous banquet was given to Napoleon at that very same national palace where the great men of the extinct republic had so often and wisely consulted on her most important interests. Josephine in the meanwhile had arrived from France, and Eliza from Piombino, in time for this festival. The banquet was gay:—whether any unwelcome recollections of former glory alloyed its pleasures I know not. The Ambrosian hymn was sung in the cathedral of Lorenzo ; here bishops and archbishops took oaths in the words of the Emperor. He then bestowed the insignia of the Legion of Honour ; the highest were given to Durazzo, Cambiaso, Celesia, Corvetto, Serra, Cattaneo, and the Archbishop Spina. To Cambiaso, Durazzo, Corvetto and Gentile, he made presents—jewels set in gold ; these were the tokens of an extinct country, the rewards of her extinction. The Emperor commanded the statue of Andrew Doria, which

the jacobins had thrown down, to be again set up. This was all that was wanting to fill up the measure of insult to the memory of Doria. Satisfied with having not only made the Genoese his slaves, but having seen them content themselves as such, Napoleon returned through Turin to his Imperial Paris, while Prince Lebrun remained behind, as Governor of Genoa. Acting from the dictates of his own moderate disposition, the latter gradually arranged the state on the model of France. He took particular delight in re-modelling the University, and received the professors with pleasure; between the meritoriousness of their labours and the generosity of the rewards bestowed, the zeal both of the masters and of the scholars was much increased, and the Genoese University became flourishing. Some months passed between the introduction of the French laws and the union with France: at length (Regnault St. Jean D'Angely, being the speaker on the occasion) that union was decreed on the 4th of October by a Senate declaring the territories of Genoa to be annexed to those of France; and thus ended one of the most ancient states, not only of Italy, but

of Europe. Regnault did not fail to colour and varnish his subject in the usual style; his happiest hit was his finding out that France destroyed the independence of Genoa (for such was the signification of his words), only because England did not respect it. The commencement of the union, however, was a joyful one; for the powerful hand of Napoleon led back to their native shores those Genoese who had languished in cruel slavery on the coasts of Africa.

The republic of Lucca also perished: thus was verified the saying of Napoleon, that monarchy was unequal to the task of overcoming republicanism. Piombino was first given to Eliza, his sister; and then Lucca and Piombino to her husband, Bacciocchi. A senate was granted to Lucca; conscripts were not enrolled there by law, but all were soldiers; taxes and imposts could not be raised, except by law. Offices, with the exception of such as were judicial, could be held only by the Lucchese themselves. Bacciocchi and his consort had the title of Prince and Princess of Lucca; and Bacciocchi reigned over that noble city.

Animated by successful daring, Napoleon became still more audacious, and now prepared Parma also for an union with France: he promulgated the French laws there. Already the ambitious amongst her citizens turned to Paris as the fountain of their hopes. Moreau de St. Mery seconded the Emperor, rather, however, to gratify himself, than his master; for he loved power more than was becoming in a moderate man already past the prime of life. But the climate, the people, and the office, had a thousand charms.

Whilst Napoleon ran over Italy in triumphal pomp, and whilst the Italian states were successively falling in ruins, Pius the Seventh returned to Rome. In an assembly of the Cardinals, he detailed what he had already effected, and what he yet hoped to effect, promising himself important advantages to religion and to the Roman church as the result of his journey to Paris. Having regulated the ecclesiastical affairs of France, those of Italy now engaged his serious attention, where a spirit of opposition to the Holy

See was widely diffused, the doctrines of Ricci, bishop of Pistoja, having taken deep root in every part of the Peninsula.

By his bull "*Auctorem Fidei*," Pius the Sixth had severely censured the propositions of the synod of Pistoja, especially the eighty-fifth, by which that body declared its adherence to the doctrines of the clergy of France. At a subsequent period when Tuscany was governed by the Imperial regency of Austria, Ricci had been confined to his villa of Rignano.* The Archbishop of Florence earnestly advised and seriously admonished him to retract. The Bishop, standing on general principles, affirmed that he had never held opinions which perverse men had imputed

* Ricci had acted on the instructions and with the concurrence of Leopold the Second, in conducting the ecclesiastical reforms of Tuscany. A part of his duty had been to inquire into the conduct of the richly-endowed religious houses. In consequence of the immorality which was found to reign, all were suppressed, except those devoted to the care of the sick and other works of active charity. In many respects, Ricci wished to restore the simplicity of the primitive church, and endeavoured to introduce the liturgy in the vulgar tongue, &c.—*Tr.*

him, but had uniformly been, in heart, and soul, and conscience, a true Catholic. At this time Pius the Sixth died; and, on the assumption of Pius the Seventh, he wrote, through the medium of the secretary Consalvi, to the new Pontiff, professing his reverence for the pontifical authority, founded, as he said, on the authority of the sacred writings; his adherence to the whole Catholic verity, and the integrity of his orthodox faith. He wrote thus, partly because (saving some mental reservation) such was the fact, and partly because the harsh proceedings of the Tuscan regency terrified him; for these times were far different from the reign of Leopold. His letters, however, were not found satisfactory; and a formal notice was sent to him from Rome that, if he did not renounce the errors of the synod, the Pope would proceed rigorously against him. He was given to understand, also, from Tuscany that, if he did not, without the smallest delay, accede to the demands of France, he should be carried to the castle of St. Angelo, and never suffered to see the light again: such were the intimations of the regency. In this crisis the French again occupied

Tuscany. The Bishop then wrote, at length a fresh defence of his conduct, in which he examined the eighty-five propositions one by one, and pronounced them all orthodox. With respect to the eighty-fifth, and its accordance with the declaration of the French clergy, he expressed a conviction that he had done no injury to the illustrious church in adopting its doctrines. To great Bossuet, to whom the Catholic community owed such signal obligations, had defended and maintained the four articles; nor had he adopted them in his synod as points of doctrine, but as an efficacious mode of showing the limits which divide the two powers, ecclesiastical and secular.

Then, as to the rules of discipline, he had believed himself entitled, as bishop, to reform abuses. This duty had even been established as an express precept by the Council of Trent. When the Pope passed through Florence, on his way to France, for the coronation, the Bishop repeated his professions of obedience and faith, and sent an assurance of them to Pius. The Pontiff, on his return from Paris, passing again through Florence, informed Ricci that he would

embrace him with pleasure, if he would first sign a prescribed declaration. He desired that Ricci should in this declare, that he accepted with respect, purely and simply, in heart and spirit, all the apostolical constitutions which had emanated from the Holy See against the errors of Bajus, Jansenus, Quesnil, and their disciples, from the time of Pius the Sixth to the present, and especially the doctrinal bull, *Auctorem Fidei*, which condemned, individually and collectively, the eighty-five propositions enunciated by the synod of Pistoja; that it was his wish, in order to remedy the scandal that had arisen, that the declaration should be rendered public; and finally, that he should protest his desire to live and to die in the faith of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church, in perfect and true submission to our Lord Pope Pius the Seventh, and his successors, vicars of Jesus Christ. Compelled by the emergencies of the times, and fearing that a refusal would draw down on him the penal censures against pertinacity, Ricci signed the declaration. The Pope and the Queen awaited him in the Pitti palace: the Pope threw himself on his

neck, embraced him, and seated him at his side. He caressed him exceedingly, and praised the resolution he had taken in the warmest manner. The first fervour of their greetings being over, the Bishop delivered a writing to the Pope, the import of which was that, to show obedience and submission to the Holy See, he had willingly subscribed the declaration. In examining his conscience, he found that he entertained no other doctrine than that defined by the bull of Pius Sixth: therefore, he was obliged, by truth and conscience, to declare, as he had declared, that he had never believed nor maintained the enunciation of the propositions in the heretical sense justly condemned by the bull, having always intended that no equivocal expression had escaped, to retract it and correct it. He, therefore, prayed the Pope graciously to accept this declaration, as an effusion of his heart. Pius approved of this second declaration, affirmed his conviction of the Catholic purity of Ricci, and promised to pledge him for it to the consistory. This said, he bestowed fresh caresses on the Bishop. He afterwards wrote to him from Rome long and at

tionate letters, declaring that Ricci would descend to posterity with glory for having preferred truth and Christian obedience to the suggestions of self-love; and that his name would be enrolled with the most illustrious of mankind. In his address to the consistory also, he praised him highly. The Tuscan government, however, would not permit the address to be printed, as they did not wish to rekindle extinguished fires, or to renew the disputes on the subject. Thus Pius, victorious over Napoleon, triumphed also over Ricci, two potent adversaries—one by the force of arms, the other by the force of opinion. Nevertheless, the seeds and roots of adverse doctrines remained in Italy. The disciples of Ricci not only persevered in their opinions, but maintained that he had never openly retracted. In fact, certain it is that the Bishop, although covertly, spoke in his own justification in such terms, that it was easy to perceive that he cherished opinions adverse to the infallibility of the Pope, and to that plenitude of authority which the theologians of Rome attribute to the Roman See.

The concordat had settled the affairs of church in France, and the Pope now hoped to promote the interests of the Holy See by another expedient. His compact with Napoleon had placed a bridle on the sect of philosophers, and in another mode he hoped to strike at the root of the evil, which he believed to proceed from that sect amongst Catholics which impugned papal authority, by alleging the maxims and usages of the primitive church. Their jurisdiction over the general church gives the Roman Pontiff secret influence in foreign countries overt power, while secret information and insinuations secure to them also covert influence. For such purposes, the Jesuits are powerful agents; because, on one side, by the virtue of their peculiar rule, every thing which they can spy out is speedily communicated to their general at Rome, and by him to the papal government; and, on the other hand, as counsellors of princes and instructors of youth they draw the rulers and the ruled to what they design, in employing religious means to promote worldly ends. This order was a tremendous engine for commanding both princes and people.

and he who devised it must have possessed a powerful mind and a profound knowledge of human affairs. Napoleon himself, with his desultory and inconsistent mode of proceeding, never devised such an irresistible scheme of making himself master of the world as that which was framed by an insignificant Spanish friar, and an obscure Roman priest. Although the order of the Jesuits had been suppressed, their spirit still lived. Masters in the art of accommodating their opinions to the circumstances of the times, they spread abroad with surprising dexterity the idea that, precisely in consequence of the suppression of their order all the miseries of the age had arisen: the breaking out of revolutions, the overthrow of thrones, the riots of a licentious liberty, the anarchy which had totally dissolved good order, had all proceeded from this one event, which had enabled the philosophers and the Jansenists to destroy every social tie. Against such powerful and such obstinate enemies, neither Kings without the Pope, nor the Pope without Kings, nor both united, could oppose any effectual resistance,

unless assisted by the efficacious aid of Jesuits. Modern philosophy seduced and minds devoted to pleasure, by taking away the passions their restraints; Jansenism seduced enthusiasts in morals, by an appearance of sanctimony and austerity; kings could no longer regulate the instruction of youth; the Pope no longer able to control the minds of instructed men. The aid of those who could implant virtue in the mind, and who could and were, masters of all that the mind of man can conceive, or his hand execute, was now an imperative necessity. The populace conspired together against the powerful,—the powerful ought to unite against the vulgar; nor could any mode of resistance alone suffice to baffle the greatness of the danger. That defence which at once the most coercive, the most persuasive, the most general, should be sought; and which was to be found in the Jesuits alone; to whom should be called to restore social order to the salvation of tottering thrones—to the re-organization of convulsed Europe. The alternative was Jesuits, or revolution succeeding revolution.

them alone could safety be found. These ideas they widely diffused, as if the world did not know full well that they only became the defenders of sovereigns, when sovereigns consented to become their slaves.

Terror is a bad counsellor, because it blinds the judgment. Some princes, moved by the artful representation of the Jesuits, desired the restoration of the order; not considering that, in becoming thus the masters of their people, they would themselves become the servants of others: nor even was there any security in this measure, because Catholic countries alone, in which the principles implanted by the Jesuits had flourished, had been the scenes of calamitous revolutions; whilst Protestant states, where their doctrines and their arts were unknown, had been exempt from these disturbances. None, moreover, so openly or so tenaciously advocated the doctrine of the lawfulness of assassinating certain kings as the Jesuits. Ferdinand of Naples implored the Pope to restore the Company of Jesus in his realm, as had already been done in Russia; in order, as he said, to instruct the

youth of his dominions in true and saving trines: to this the Pope willingly consented and one Gabriel Gruber regulated the establishment. Miserable condition of man, who knows no other remedy for one extreme than employ the contrary extreme against it! Thus commenced the restoration of the Jesuits, whom Pope and all his regal contemporaries had unanimously condemned! it was commenced, too, by a monarch who had actively co-operated in the suppression of the order, and by a Pope of the order of Benedictines, the bitterest enemies of the Jesuits. Whether this (an event as strange in its beginning as important in its result) be for the benefit of the human race, posterity will pronounce; but, if we may judge of the future by the present, melancholy doubts as to its expediency may cloud the minds of those prudent men who dread the tranquillity of states, the independence of princes, and the liberty of the people.

Whilst the Pontiff endeavoured to confirm his newly-recovered power, fresh wounds were opening for ensanguined Europe. The elevation of Napoleon to the Imperial throne of France

had excited the anger of all the other potentates, and had given them reason to dread fresh aggressions and stricter control. Prussia alone rejoiced in it, flattering herself that this new empire would be more favourable to her aggrandizement than were the ancient states of England and Russia. Two material circumstances arose out of the coronation of Napoleon: first, it put an end to all hope of the restoration of the Bourbons; and, secondly, the Imperial authority gave him increased power to employ as he would the resources of the French nation. None believed him likely to use this power with moderation, and Austria least of all. Besides, it was deemed imprudent to give him time to consolidate his empire; and it was generally believed, that this Imperial fancy of Napoleon was deeply resented, both by the partisans of the Bourbons and by the French republicans, and that they would be little inclined to assist him in case of a new war.

Every one was aware that he was not the man to neglect exerting his new power, so as best to confirm it, and so that, if time were allowed


him, it would become difficult, if not impossible, to curb it. His ardent desire of power rendered it impossible for him to dissimulate. His position was already that of the Emperor of the West, and this was the interpretation given to his coronation, both at his coronation at Paris and at Milan, the same honours as Charlemagne had done : and this was the meaning of the iron crown of the Lombard kings, and of his assertions already made at that time, that Italy was a vassal fief of the empire. In the mind of Alexander other reasons also concurred to excite dissatisfaction against Napoleon, the chief of which was the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, a youth of his own age with whom he had been intimately acquainted and whom he had sincerely loved. These feelings excited in the principal potentates of Europe the desire of a new league for their common defence, and for the preservation of the ancient states of Europe; the object of which was either to concert with Napoleon for the independence of the established monarchies, if any solid guarantee could be obtained from him, or to try the effect of a new contest in arms, whilst he was yet young.

his throne. Nor was England wanting to herself; for, not only was she excited by ancient hatred, but by the danger which seemed to threaten her on her own shores. Napoleon had assembled a numerous army on the coasts of Picardy and Normandy, menacing an invasion of the three kingdoms; nor were the means of transport wanting, as he had collected a considerable quantity of small craft, besides the ships of war. The people of France seconded his intentions with the greatest zeal, by offers of ships and money. William Pitt, at this time the Prime Minister of George the Third, held this projected invasion in contempt, knowing that the naval superiority of Great Britain would render a landing difficult; and more difficult still would it be to acquire any firm footing on the island, unless it were totally subjugated. Notwithstanding this, however, the warlike preparations of France perplexed the nation, and interrupted her commerce; the minister, therefore, laboured with all his power to raise up new enemies, and form a fresh league against France. To this intent, a treaty had been already concluded at

St. Petersburg, in the month of April, between Russia and England, by which both parties bound themselves to employ the most prompt and efficacious means to form a general league, and five hundred thousand soldiers were to be raised, besides the troops furnished by England. They were to induce or to constrain France to make peace, and agree to such an arrangement of territory in Europe, that no one state should preponderate over the rest. Napoleon was to be compelled to evacuate Hanover and the north of Germany, to restore the independence of Holland and Switzerland, to re-instate the King of Sardinia with some increase of territory, to give security to the King of Naples, and to evacuate the whole of Italy, including the Isle of Elba. Sweden and Austria had already joined the league. It was resolved, however, before coming to an open rupture, to try the effect of negotiation, not only to avoid, if possible, the risk of contest, but to allow time for preparation, for the arrival of the Russian army. The allies therefore resolved to send Baron Novosiltzoff to Paris to bear their offers to the Emperor,

to urge him to come to an agreement conformable to their desires.

The envoy of the confederates had already reached Berlin, when intelligence was received of the union of Genoa with France—an event contrary to the declarations of Napoleon, and adverse to the empire of Austria in Italy. On this unexpected intelligence, Novosiltzoff discontinued his journey till further orders, and was immediately recalled to St. Petersburg. The annexation of Genoa, and the fate of Lucca, which was soon after known, united Austria more closely to Russia. The language which usually precedes war, was now heard on all sides: Austria informed Napoleon of her resolution to co-operate with Russia and England, in order to effect an honourable and solid pacification throughout Europe; this she had desired before the union of Genoa and Lucca, and now still more than then. This declaration excited the indignation of Napoleon. He replied, that he placed little confidence either in Russia or England—that Austria possessed the means of forcing them to pacific measures, as they must



pass through her territories to invade France. But neither could he confide in Austria herself, as she was arming in Poland, strengthening her army beyond measure in Italy; the Tyrol was filled with soldiers; yet if she really desired to maintain peace, she must withdraw from the Italian and German Tyrol the regiments lately raised there, must discontinue the raising of new fortifications, must reduce to the number of the peace establishment the troops posted throughout Stiria, Carinthia, Friuli, and the Venetian territories, and must declare to England her resolution to remain neutral.

From all this it was easy to perceive that there was little hope of the continuance of peace; for Napoleon was not a man to be induced by threats to undo any thing he had done; neither would Austria on her side retreat, knowing that Alexander already approached her frontiers with two armies of fifty thousand men each. In consequence of this, she assumed a yet higher tone, still, however, professing to Napoleon her desire of preserving the friendship of France and the peace of Europe, but affirming that the treaty

of Luneville, which had stipulated for the independence of the Italian Republics, had been violated by the recent events in Italy, and that the independent states of that country were agitated by the fear of fresh aggressions. "One sole power ought not to arrogate to itself the right of regulating the interests of foreign states to the exclusion of all other potentates. France was required to observe her treaties; she was required to respect the dignity and the rights of other nations; peace was offered to her on the original conditions,—it now was offered ere the contest of arms was commenced,—it would be offered to her when the result was proved. Austria would ever be willing to treat on such terms as should guarantee the observance of former stipulations, and the independence of nations."

These professions were followed by similar declarations on both sides, each party pretending only a desire for peace, and respect for the rights of others. The French Emperor, who had always overwhelmed his enemies by the rapidity of his movements, seeing the new league that was

made against him, and that war was inevitable, and being tranquil as to Prussia, who, blinded by the desire of possessing a share in the spoils of others, was deceived in her opinion of Napoleon, instantly ordered the force assembled against England to march into Germany, and to succour Bavaria menaced by Austria, repelling force by force. Then, ordering a fresh levy of conscripts, he soon after repaired in person to the German plains, knowing that his name and his presence were in themselves a host of war. On her side Austria committed the command of the German army to the Archduke Ferdinand, a youth of an energetic mind, and sent with him, as a moderator of his youthful ardour, General Mack, in whom the Emperor Francis placed great confidence: this confidence, however, had been excited by fair-sounding words, rather than by any proofs of ability.

In Italy military affairs stood thus:—Austria, considering the weight of the Archduke Charles's name, had given him the command of the army assembled on the banks of the Adige; the Archduke John was placed with a considerable force

in the Tyrol, for the double purpose of guarding the passes, and of co-operating, as circumstances might require, either with the German or Italian army. It was also designed, that a considerable body of Russians and English, then stationed in Malta and Corfu, should be landed in Italy. Although he gave his chief attention to the war in Germany, Napoleon did not, however, neglect the defence of Italy; but, having learned that the Archduke Charles was to head the enemy, and having more confidence in the fortunes of Massena than of Jourdan, he substituted the Italian general for the German. He sent so many troops to Italy that, between French and natives, Massena commanded a powerful army, not inferior in number to that of the enemy, which might be about eighty thousand strong. Massena was encamped on the right banks of the Adige, prepared, at the first signal of hostility, to attempt the passage. The Emperor of France, whose practice, in all his campaigns, had been to disregard the extremities, and who preferred a vigorous and concentrated attack to a feeble war of detail, struck ever at the main point, aware that the

must fail also if the heart be paralyzed. In view he ordered Gouvion St. Cyr to hasten to the kingdom of Naples to the banks of the Adige. This he might securely do, as his arts had persuaded Ferdinand, by means of the Marquis Gallo, his ambassador at Paris, to sign a treaty of neutrality. By this compact the King bound himself, not only to remain neutral during the existing war, but to repel by force every attempt to infringe this neutrality—to prohibit the disembarkation of any hostile force, or the entrance of the enemy's ships into his ports, and not to give the command of his troops or his fortresses to any officer in the pay of the allies, comprehending also the French exiles: this last condition was particularly directed against Count Roger Damas. Trusting, as he said, to the promise of Ferdinand, Napoleon, on his part, consented to withdraw all his troops from the kingdom, and to deliver up the places they had occupied to Neapolitan officers. Besides this, he bound himself to observe, during the present war, the neutrality of both the Sicilies. St. Cyr marched to the Adige.

According to custom, hostilities were preceded by manifestoes: those of the Archduke were moderate—those of Napoleon's general were less temperate; and when the war had actually commenced in Germany by the Austrian invasion of Bavaria, the Viceroy of Italy published the declaration of war against Austria in terms of bitter reproach. "Vienna," he said "had resolved on war against the French and Italian nations. The house of Austria had taken advantage of the noble confidence of the Emperor Napoleon to invade the territories of a prince of the empire, solely because, faithful to treaties, he had continued to be the friend and ally of the Emperor of the French and the King of Italy; but no doubts of the issue could be entertained. Napoleon commanded the armies. They were confident in him, he in them. That God who was ever terrible to the perjured, would combat on his side. His glory, his genius, his justice, his valour, would conquer for him; and, finally, the fidelity and the love of his people would fight on his side. The defeat of the enemy was inevitable."

All was yet tranquil in Italy, whilst war fiercely

raged in Germany; for, at the request of Archduke, who wished to see what turn the campaign in Germany would take, an agreement had been made between him and Massena, to suspend offensive operations till the 18th of October. This was a great error on the part of the Austrians, because it never yet was prudent to stake the decision of fortune in a single point, when there are means of trying it in many. This error was still more important, as affording Napoleon time to join Massena before the commencement of active hostilities. No such oversight marked the conduct of Napoleon, who, marching with incredible celerity from the coast of Picardy to the banks of the Danube, came up with, and fought the Austrian army, before the Russians could reach the field of battle to aid them. Thus the Archduke was by the disasters in Italy, many virtually defeated in Italy before combat had taken place there. The star of Napoleon had prevailed. Already arrived in Germany, he had marched on the Austrians before they had time to issue from the passes of the Black Forest, or to fortify them against him.

In these manœuvres, besides his astonishing celerity, he displayed against an enemy, so often defeated, an extraordinary grandeur of military genius. Within a few days Mack was surrounded on every side, cut off from Vienna, and shut up within the walls of Ulm.

Napoleon gained first the battle of Wertingen, and next that of Gunzburg. Two circumstances had facilitated these victories: first, the aid of Bavaria; next, his having, in defiance of the neutrality of Prussia, (preferring success to the observance of treaties,) crossed her territory at Bareith and Anspach—the first enabling the French to appear on the right at Augsburg and Monaco, and on the left at Neuburg, Ingolstadt, and Ratisbon, taking the Austrians every where in the rear; and thus not only were they shut up, but Mack was separated from the Archduke John.

The 18th of October, on which the suspension of arms terminated, had scarcely dawned, when Massena commenced offensive operations, incited to action by the intelligence he had received of the successes of his companions in Germany. At

four in the morning he attacked the enemy above and below Verona, and strove to force a passage over the river, between these two points.

To this intent Duhesme and Gardanne were commanded to carry the bridge, which was not broken, but walled up at the end. But Lacoste, St. Michele, a general of artillery, at great personal risk, applied a petard to the wall, where the Austrians directed a tremendous fire against him from the left bank, and blew it up; General Chasseloup, with courage equally undaunted, repaired the bridge for the passage. Light-armed troops crossed over, but being closely pressed by the Germans, their danger was extreme. Gardanne hastened with his main body to their aid, and renewed the combat. The contest was carried on with various success, and great courage on both sides. The Archduke, who was encamped at San Martino, quickly reinforced his party, in consequence of which a more general and more animated engagement took place, Duhesme crossed with his whole brigade. The French, although they had the advantage, were not, on this day, completely victorious,

were obliged to return to their encampment on the right side of the river, retaining, however, possession of the bridge. The Austrians lost some cannon, and three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the loss of the French amounted to one thousand. Massena, whether restrained by considerations as to the strong position of the Archduke, or waiting the arrival of St. Cyr, or desirous of obtaining further intelligence from Germany before he advanced, remained some days without making any movement of consequence. At this moment the most welcome intelligence reached him. The whole of Mack's army, with the exception of a small squadron, which had fled under the Archduke Ferdinand, had laid down their arms, and had delivered themselves up, defeated and captive, into the hands of Napoleon—an event which entailed the annihilation of the entire Austrian force in Germany. The Emperor Napoleon had, in this campaign, even surpassed the General and Consul Buonaparte, both in fortune and skill. Thus the aspect of the Italian war was now changed; the Archduke was obliged to weaken his force by

sending a part in aid of the perishing empire of his brother. The Germans were intimidated ; French elated. Massena, on hearing the wonderful events of Ulm, resolved, without loss of time, to attack the enemy in his strong encampment at Caldiero. On the 29th he crossed the river. Duhesme and Gardanne were ordered to pass the bridge ; Seras on the left, at the pass of Ponte Polo ; Verdier on the right, looking down, between Ronco and Albaredo ; places already rendered famous by the battle of Arcore. Having passed the bridge, Duhesme and Gardanne extended their lines towards the river. Seras had crossed higher up for another purpose, and following the skirts of the mountains, occupying the heights of Val Pontena, which commanded the castle of San Felice, whose artillery had much annoyed the French in passing the bridge, obliged the Austrians to evacuate Veronetta ; and the reduction of Veronetta enabled the remaining squadrons of the French army, particularly the cavalry, to pass ; so that the Austrians, driven from all their posts, and finally from Michele, retreated, with great loss, beyond

Martino, disputing, however, every step. The French remained under arms all night at Vago. The Archduke resolved to make head at Caldiero, rather because he was unwilling to give up Italy without a battle than because he hoped to effect any important change in the state of the war, as the preponderance of Napoleon was already too great to admit of such expectation.

On the morning of the 30th, the Archduke disposed his line of battle, extending his right beyond the eminences of St. Pietro, opposite the village of Fromegna, and stretching his left towards the Adige, as far as Gambione. These points were well furnished with artillery; in case, too, of any sinister accident, he had placed a reserve of cavalry, and twenty-four battalions of grenadiers towards Villanova, where the high road to Verona divides, leading on one side to Lonigo, and on the other to Vicenza.

The French general had divided his forces in three squadrons: the centre was commanded by Gardanne, the right by Duhesme, the left by Molitor. A large body of reserve, composed of the grenadiers of Portonneaux, and of the cavalry

under D'Espagne and Monnet, were stationed a short distance in the rear. Massena having heard that the service committed to Seras and Verdier had been accomplished, resolved to give battle. Molitor was the first to rush on to the enemy. His attack was furious, but he was spiritedly repelled. Gardanne and Duhesme pushed on, and the engagement became quickly general on the whole front of both parties: Gardanne driving on with extreme energy, forced fortune to decide in his favour; for, chasing the Germans from place to place, although they valiantly resisted, he possessed himself of Caldiero by a bayonet charge. The right and left wings seeing this, threw themselves also impetuously on to the enemy, and drove them back. But, collecting again on the heights, they there made an obstinate defence; notwithstanding that the French everywhere had the advantage. It was now four o'clock in the evening: the Archduke commanded the advance of his rear-guard, which, as has been before related, he had reserved to restore the fortune of the day; and now the balance became so equal that it could not be said to incline to one side.

more than to the other. Massena seeing this new support on the enemy's side, commanded the advance of his rear-guard also, and the combat became desperate and mortal; for the German grenadiers and cavalry, as well as the French troops of the same description, who had recently joined the battle, fulfilled their duty to the utmost. At last the French cavalry prevailed. The Austrian grenadiers still resisted; but those under Portonneaux resorting to their bayonets, made such a vigorous charge, that they were compelled to give way. Thus the Germans yielding the victory to the more powerful, retired from the field to the shelter of the batteries which the Archduke had planted on the eminences that tower above Caldiero. This battle was remarkable from the similarity of the dispositions made by the two adverse commanders; for both presented one general front, and both had kept a body of grenadiers and cavalry in reserve. The Austrians lost thirty cannon, and three thousand five hundred soldiers—the French about fifteen hundred. All the generals under Massena distinguished themselves in this affair.

The Archduke was dissatisfied with Vukassov who had been encamped at Campagnola, and was being, as it appeared, off his guard, suffered an unexpected attack in the rear, which defeated the general plan of the Austrian generalissimo. Such is the uncertainty of war; for this is the story of Vukassovich who has merited so many encomiums in this narration, as an able, a spirited and a vigilant commander.

During the engagement of Caldiero, the Archduke had sent, on his right, towards the mountains, a column of 5,000 men under Hillinger in order to wind round so as to fall on the rear of the French. This movement he had commanded either because he was not aware that Seras was already marching in force on the same spot, or because he had hoped to be able to maintain his ground at Caldiero for a longer time. The result was unfortunate for the Austrian army. Seras, marching on, got between Hillinger and the Archduke, and cut off the detached squadrons which was reduced to the necessity of surrendering.

The battle of Caldiero, the disaster of Hil-

ger, and the orders of the Emperor, his brother, left the Archduke no alternative. Accordingly, on the night of the 1st of November, he commenced his retreat by the road of Vicenza. Then, continuing (not without skill) gradually to yield the field, he conducted his army, with less loss than could have been expected from his previous disasters, and the celerity of his retreat, to the banks of the Save, and took up his station at Lubiana. The French closely pursued him, captured a few small bodies of stragglers, and possessed themselves of large magazines of provisions, particularly at Udine and Palmanova. In this manner the fertile district of the Venetian Terraferma, a second time conquered by the victorious arms of Napoleon, was wrested from Austria. The city of Venice alone was now in the possession of the Germans.

At this conjuncture St. Cyr arrived from Naples. Massena finding himself obliged to follow the Archduke through the mountains of Carniola and Corinthia, deemed it imprudent to leave the Venetian shores defenceless, as he feared a debarkation of Russians and English. He there-

fore ordered St. Cyr to extend his line, and guard the shores from the mouth of the Adige to the city of Venice. This precaution was fortunate in its result; for, though no attempt was made by the enemy to land troops on the shore, it was important, in its consequences, on the Terraferma itself. Napoleon, anxious to prostrate the whole force of Austria, which still held out on the rocky heights of the Tyrol and the Vorarlberg, had sent Ney from Augsburg against the Archduke John, and Augereau against Jellacheick. Ney quickly gained the pass of Scharnitz, and occupied the German Tyrol; and then, with no less celerity, mastering the pass of Sterzing, possessed himself of the Italian Tyrol, the Archduke retreating, or rather flying, with great difficulty, to shelter himself in Carniola. Augereau drove before him the yielding Jellacheick from the Vorarlberg; and the German general, finding the passes of the Tyrol shut up by Ney, was forced to surrender. The conquest of the Tyrol produced another effect of the greatest importance. A body of 7,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, under the Prince of Roano, obliged to descend by the


banks of the Brenta towards the plains watered by that river, fell in with St. Cyr at Castelfranco, and after a furious conflict was constrained to surrender. On this, Massena, who was now secure on the rear, accelerated the advance of his front, and established his quarters at Lubiana, the Archduke retiring from that city, first to Croatia, and finally to the principality of Sirmio in Sclavonia, between the Drave and the Save. Seras occupied Trieste. The troops of Massena and Ney met at Villach and Clagenfurth. The two armies of France, the Germanic, and Italian, assembled together for the future enterprises of the banks of the Danube. Grand, bold, and admirably combined were these movements of Napoleon; and the result was equal to the masterly conceptions which had produced them. In less than one short month, all the warlike array of Austria was destroyed; and the Emperor Francis, almost entirely deprived of his own army, had no other resource, save the aid of Russia, which, if it had reached him before his defeat, would have been a powerful adjunct, but was now unavailing to repair his losses. Italy was thus as

cleared of the Germans as in the days of Napoleon.

The all-grasping mind of Napoleon made it a difficulty in appropriating the states of others, even when neither cause nor pretext existed, much more willingly did he seize on them when any plea was afforded him for the aggression. Thus the King of Naples had proof, to his ruin. Ferdinand had, as we have related, promised neutrality; but, just as the war was decided in favour of the French in Germany. In Upper Italy, the month of November drawing towards its close, there arrived in the Gulf of Naples two English fleets, with much treasure and 15,000 soldiers on board, among whom were 12,000 Russians from Corfu, and 3,000 English from Malta. Soldiers, arms, and ammunition were landed between Naples and Portici; the intention was declared, not only of protecting the kingdom of Naples, but of marching to the assistance of the Austrians. The King, not considering what the future consequence of this might be to him, made no effort, nor even protested against the debarkation of these enemies.

France. The ambassador of Napoleon, highly incensed at seeing the ensigns of the enemy, took down the Imperial arms from the front of his palace, and, demanding his passports, abandoned, as he said, the faithless land, and pursued his way to Rome. In order to appease him, the government issued an edict, promising to the French, Italians, Ligurians, and the other nations of the French empire, the security of their property and commerce. This measure was taken in vain, because no protestation was made against the landing of the confederates, nor any displeasure expressed at a circumstance that France so deeply resented. The effects which resulted from this, and which for many years deprived Ferdinand of the kingdom of Naples, shall presently be related.

Napoleon gained a pitched battle in the field of Austerlitz. The Russian auxiliaries being defeated, Austria was so entirely prostrated, that she was constrained to accept of the hardest conditions. The treaty was ratified at Presburg, in Hungary, on the 26th of December. The Emperor of Germany and Austria gave his con-



sent to the union of the Italian territories. acknowledged the dispositions made by Emperor of France, with respect to Lucca and Piombino; he acknowledged the Emperor of France as King of Italy, with this condition, that, on a general peace, according to the wishes of Napoleon, the two crowns should be separated, and never at any future period be re-united. To the same Emperor of France he gave up all the states of the ancient republic of Venice, which had been ceded to Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio, and consented to the union with the kingdom of Italy. He acknowledged, in the Dukes of Bavaria and Württemberg, the rank and title of King; he ceded to the former, besides several districts on the banks of the Danube, the Tyrol, comprehending the principalities of Briscia, of Bolzano, and seven lordships of Vorarlberg, and various other fiefs on the shores of the lake of Constance. On his side, the Emperor Napoleon guaranteed the integrity of the empire of Austria; consented that Salzburg, already given to the Archduke Ferdinand of Tuscany, should be united to the same

empire; and pledged himself to employ his influence with the King of Bavaria to yield Witzburg to the Archduke, in compensation for Salzburg.

The treaty was put in execution: Venice and her ancient territory, after having been eight years under the domination of Austria, passed under that of France. Law Lauriston took possession of it on the part of the king of Italy. He consoled and encouraged the Venetians, promising them prosperity, and calling them sons of Napoleon; admirable consolation for evils of such magnitude! On the 19th of January, the soldiers of Napoleon arrived at Venice, to establish the third slavery it was to endure. This task was assigned to Miollis, who seemed destined to aggrieve Italy, alike by arbitrary acts and glozing words. On the 3d of February, the Viceroy Eugene, recently married to the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, arrived at Venice. The customary rejoicings took place, which, whether procured by force, or produced by obsequiousness, tended to excite compassion rather than mirth.

At this time, the ruin of Naples became
nent. The victorious Napoleon resolved to
satisfy at once his ambition and his vengeance.
Already his intentions had been made public by
an address to his soldiers issued at the close of
the preceding year:—"For ten years I have done
every thing that was possible on my part to
the King of Naples; and for ten years he has
laboured to the utmost for his own destruction.
After the battles of Dego, of Mondovi, and
Lodi, he possessed little power to resist me.
The battle of Marengo dissolved the second league,
the King had been the very first to begin the
war. Abandoned by his allies at Luneville, he was
alone and defenceless: he implored the peace
which I granted. Already on the confines of
Naples, you had the kingdom at your mercy;
I suspected treachery; vengeance was in
power: yet I was again restrained by generosity,
and I commanded you to retire from the kingdom.
Three times has the royal house of Naples
owed to me its salvation. Shall I, a fourth time,
pardon a court which knows no faith, no honour,
no prudence? No; the reign of the Neapolitan

family ceases; its possession of the crown is incompatible both with the repose of Europe and with my honour. Go! march forward, and precipitate into the waves those feeble battalions of the tyrants of the sea, if, indeed, they can summon courage to await your arrival. Go! and shew to the world how we punish the perjured. Go! and so act that it shall quickly see that Italy is ours, and that the most beautiful country of the earth has shaken from its neck the yoke of perfidious men. Go! and show that the sanctity of treaties is avenged,—that the shades of my soldiers, who had survived the perils of shipwrecks, of deserts, and of a hundred battles, only to be assassinated in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, are avenged and appeased. My brother, the participator of my power—the participator of my councils, will be your leader; confide in him, as perfectly as I do.”

These harsh and haughty words of the terrible conqueror of Austerlitz were followed by actions in accordance with their spirit. His brother Joseph marched against the kingdom of Naples

with a powerful army. Napoleon, knowing the King to be irresolute, and accustomed to allow himself to be governed by others, had sent Massena with him to share and support his councils. Ferdinand endeavoured to disperse the storm, by sending Cardinal Ruffo to the enraged sovereign to excuse the fact of the debarkation. Commanding the King to allege that he had been too weak and his allies too strong for him to have prevented the landing, he besought peace, promised compensation, offered security. Nor did the King perceive that Napoleon was more influenced by ambition than by revenge; for, as to the debarkation, it might have been atoned for by cessions of territory, or payments in money, without striking at the root, and totally upsetting the kingdom; and as for the shades of the soldiers, Napoleon had, since their murder, entered into friendship with the King; which showed in what estimation he held their blood, and how much he was affected by their "shades:" nor is it easy to imagine why the King sent Cardinal Ruffo to propitiate Napoleon, except that perhaps he thought that from a certain similarity of disposition between

them, they were likely to agree. Napoleon showed himself inexorable—Naples pleased him; he was preparing regal thrones for his brothers: his cupidity excited him to form everywhere states that should be entirely dependant on himself.

When Ferdinand was informed of the fiat of Napoleon, he shut himself up with his counsellors to deliberate on the exigency of the case. They were unwilling to abandon the kingdom, and wished that the Russians and English should oppose the French in the passes of the Abbruzzi, and thus close the entrance of the kingdom against them. But the Emperor Alexander, anxious for the safety of his own soldiers, the enterprise being also very doubtful, sent an express courier to command their instant embarkation and return to Corfu. The retreat of the Russians, who formed the major part of the allied squadron, obliged the English also to embark. Both the one and the other accordingly departed—those for Corfu, and these for Sicily, leaving Ferdinand to utter ruin. Seeing that the destruction of the kingdom could not now even

be delayed for the shortest period, the council decided that the King should retire to Sicily, taking with him the royal family, the ministers, and as many soldiers and as much treasure as he could. Already the enemy menaced from Ferdinandino—already drew near to invade the province. It was further resolved that the King's eldest son should repair to Calabria, to animate that warlike population, always devoted to whomsoever would most fiercely excite them. In this ruined and bleeding province, Count de Damas was stationed with some battalions of regular troops; and it was hoped that the people would join them, and keep alive the name of the King, until some fortunate circumstance should permit his restoration. Ferdinand left his regal seat on the 23d of January. Thus ended his reign at that time, a reign which, owing to the licentiousness of his times, had been full of lamentable events and atrocious deeds. But not with his reign did deeds of cruelty cease, as if it were the decree of fate that the effusion of blood should be eternal in Naples, whether it were a kingdom or a republic—whether foreigners from England

or foreigners from France, exercised dominion over it.

Ferdinand set out for Sicily on board the *Archimedes*, and a regency was appointed, consisting of General Naselli, the Prince of Canosa, Don Michael Angelo Cianciulli, and Don Dominic Sofia. The city was agitated by fearful apprehensions; the populace, the French, and the Calabrians were equally dreaded. This terror was much increased by a tumult amongst the prisoners of the seraglio, and if their design had succeeded, the city would have been laid in ruins. In the mean time, the French were marching to take possession of it. Breathing vengeance against the court, but promising kindness to the people, if they submitted, Joseph Buonaparte advanced rapidly to the capital. Regnier, on the right, marched along the shore, meeting with no obstacle in any place, except at Gaieta, a citadel of some strength from its situation, and then in the custody of that valiant soldier, the Prince of Hesse. He disdained the summons to surrender, and the French attacked and took the bastion of St. Andrew, though not without loss. The other

party defended themselves bravely, but the numbers of the French being so great, they left a division, to reduce the city, and passed on. Massena marched to the left, and meeting with no impediment whatever, for Capua had already submitted, arrived under the walls of the much-coveted city, on the 14th of February:—the fortresses, Novo, Dell Uovo, Del Carmine, and Elmo, all surrendered. Duhesme entered, in the first instance, with a select body of light troops, both cavalry and infantry; and, on the following day, Joseph made his entry on horseback, with a large suite of general officers, and with a magnificent train of soldiers, in the finest order. He dismounted at the regal palace, which presented but a melancholy spectacle, stripped as it had been by the fugitives. On the 16th, he visited the church of San Januarius, and, after the celebration of mass by Cardinal Ruffo, he presented the saint with gifts, the first fruits of his future reign. Returning to the palace, he gave audience to the magistrates, received the regency from Naselli courteously, yet quickly superseded it by creating another, of which he appointed Salicruti

president. There were in subjugated Italy certain persons who were always in power—Vignolle, Menou, Miollis, Saliceti; some from the favour of Napoleon towards them, others from his aversion to their presence. To raise money, the old taxes were continued, and others laid on; to secure tranquillity, the citizens were deprived of arms, and threats of military execution were issued against those who should venture to retain them. Such threats, so often made, and even put in execution by all parties, prove what it must have been to live in Italy at that period.

In the mean time, Calabria was not quieted. The Duke of Calabria, with a body of soldiers which had accompanied him from Naples, joined Count Roger de Damas, who, with a squadron composed of Sicilian, German, and Neapolitan soldiers, and a mixture of adventurers, some of good character, and some of the worst description, occupied a fortified camp on the banks of the Silo, in the principality of Salerno; where he burned the bridge, and stationed his troops on the banks. As the case seemed of consequence, Regnier was sent against him, and attacked the Neapolitans,

pidity, and his knowledge of the country, delivered him out of their hands, and he escaped to Gaeta. Many of his followers, robbers and cruel murderers like himself, were taken in the mountains of Rocca Guglielma, Monticelli, and Sant' Oliva, and were instantly put to death. On the other side, Duhesme penetrating into the Basilicata, chased the enemy from Bernarda and Torre, and entered Taranto, a city of importance from its position, being equally near to Corfu and Sicily. Some remains of the vanquished had assembled at Castrovillari, but were soon dispersed by Regnier. Here were taken one Tchudi and Ricci, soldiers of some reputation, and devoted to the cause of the king. On the dispersion of the regulars, there sprung up in Calabria, partly from dislike to the change of government, partly from the instigations of the Sicilian court, partly from love of revenge, and desire of plunder, detached bands of soldiers, and men of infamous lives, who desolated the provinces with blood and rapine. In these horrible commotions, the man of property lost all; he who had nothing acquired wealth;—the good only suffered, the

informed, he named Joseph King of the two Sicilies; annexing the customary condition that the crowns of France and of Naples should never be worn by the same head. The nobles consented, the people fawned; Caroline of Sicily alone was uncontaminated by the general weakness, compensating by the boldness of her character for its fierceness. On this account Napoleon called her Fredegonda, while she called him the murderer of princes, and the Corsican tyrant. Yet in the end even she submitted to him, not from servility, not from abjectness of soul, but from hatred against the English: because, as we shall relate in its own place, a time arrived in which, disdaining a power which was shackled by the restraints of English dictation, she desired, as more conformable to her nature, the absolute sway approved by Napoleon, and therefore determined to enter into alliance with him. The elevation of Joseph to the throne of Naples excited some joy in the kingdom; but more among the nobles than the people. There were illuminations, salutes of artillery, fêtes, theatrical shows, songs, and sonnets as usual; and, as for

the sonneteers, those who had written most in favour of Caroline now wrote most in favour of Joseph. There were some things also which though not unusual, were peculiarly unbecoming in the Marquis of Gallo, Ferdinand's Ambassador in Paris, turning suddenly round to follow the fortune of Napoleon, became the Ambassador of Joseph, and soon after his Minister for Foreign Affairs. So much do men, even the nobly bred, prefer ambition to honour! The Duke of Teodora, Ferdinand's Ambassador in Spain, did not show any more exalted spirit: a short time since he had been sent by him to oppose Napoleon, victor, and now accepted an office in the court of Joseph. The mind of the Duke had certainly been exasperated by the execution of Caracciolo, his relation; but it would have been more honourable not to have accepted office under Napoleon, than not to have kept faith with the Bourbons. Cardinal Ruffo exultingly received Joseph under the canopy of state. The age has seen Cardinal Maury betray the Bourbons of France to Napoleon; it has seen Cardinal Ruffo abandon the Bourbons of Naples.

bow before Joseph.* They excused themselves by saying that they preferred things to persons ; this will be easily conceded to them by every one. All have erred—popes, emperors, kings, cardinals, bishops, priests, nobles, and people. At least, the great may learn not to judge of man by a scale of perfection which does not exist in the world, and to recognise their own weakness in that of others. But such is the pride of human nature, that whoever has most power persuades himself that he has also most worth ; and such its perversity, that some believe that, by punishing the transgressions of others, they consign their own to oblivion. Turkey itself, which Napoleon had

* To the military talents and personal courage of Cardinal Ruffo Ferdinand had been indebted for his restoration in 1799. The Cardinal headed the royalists himself, and suffered them to commit the most horrible atrocities ; but, though often cruel, and sometimes mean in the vengeance he inflicted on the opposite party (as in the instance of his ordering Cimarosa's favourite violoncello to be broken to pieces, because the republicans had persuaded him, or forced him, to set a revolutionary hymn to music), Ruffo was faithful to his engagements, and deeply resented the perfidy of the court in violating the capitulation he had granted to the insurgents of Naples.—

Tr.

wished to deprive of its Egyptian granary. tered him. On the day of Joseph's accession the Turkish envoy at Naples displayed on the front of his palace this motto amidst a blaze of fireworks in Turkish and French, "*the east recognises the hero of the age.*" True it is, that this adulterer was rather French and Neapolitan than Turkish. Napoleon laughed at these flatteries, and than ever despised the human race.

The victories of Lagonero and of Campotosto having routed the royal forces in Calabria, the whole country, with the exception of a few disturbed districts, had submitted to the French. Gaeta and Civitella di Tronto alone held out. The King had little hopes of success, although he knew that there were not wanting seeds of ill-feeling towards the new monarch, unless he could procure the landing of a strong force of regular English troops in Calabria. But Sir John Stuart, who had succeeded Craig in the command of the British troops in Sicily, was very averse to any expedition on the terra firma, and continued to keep his quarters in Messina. The chief object of the English, he thought, should be the conserva-

of Sicily, and he was aware, that if any expedition to the main land should prove unsuccessful, it would endanger the island, and even if prosperous, could not prove of any ultimate advantage, in consequence of the excessive preponderance of the French. A fortunate commander would gain no praise, while an unfortunate one would meet with great censure. Just at this time there arrived in Sicily a man who delighted in daring enterprises. This was Sir Sidney Smith, who, having arrested the successful career of Buonaparte in the east, had persuaded himself that he should be able to do so in the west also. Stimulated by his own temper, by the entreaties of Ferdinand, and by the instigations of the Queen, who could not live unless she could recover what had been wrested from her, he continually urged Stuart to hazard the attempt; but the prudence of the one overcame the boldness of the other, and nothing was determined on. Sir Sidney then resolved to try what impression he could make with the maritime forces alone, in order to show Stuart that matters were more favourably disposed than he believed.

To this intent he left Sicily with some large ships of war, and a number of transports, intending to visit the coasts of Naples. His chief objects were, first, to re-inforce Gaeta; and, secondly, to supply Calabria with arms and ammunition. The former object he accomplished, and left several small frigates in the port to co-operate in the defence. He took the Island of Capri, the possession of which rendered him master of the Gulf of Naples. As occasion offered, he coasted along towards the south; and, appearing here, now there, by his presence, by his exhortations, and by the supplies he furnished, he kept alive the name of Ferdinand. He found the people in this quarter favourably disposed, but unequal to act without foreign assistance. He then returned to Sicily, and by the earnestness of his exhortations prevailed on the prudent St. John to hazard an expedition to this harassed and disturbed province. In the beginning of July he landed about five thousand soldiers on the coast of the Gulf of St. Eufemia. He called on the people to rise, but with little effect,—and such being the coldness of the inhabitants, he was in do

whether he should immediately embark, or continue on the terra firma, when he received intelligence that Regnier, with a body about four thousand strong, was encamped at Maida, ten miles from the coast: he heard, at the same time, that a reinforcement of three thousand men was hastening to join Regnier, as the debarkation of the English was already known in the neighbourhood. He resolved, therefore, to attack the enemy before the second body of troops should join him. The French general was encamped on the side of a woody hill, above the village of Maida, which commanded the plain of St. Eufemia: thick woods secured his flanks; in front flowed the river Amato, which, though every where fordable, yet, from the marshes on its banks, it would have been difficult for the English to pass.

The position of Regnier was, as we see, strong, nay, almost impregnable; and, if he had there awaited the attack of the enemy, his victory would have been certain. It must be remarked, that it was impossible for the English long to remain where they were, as the country, abound-

ing in marshes, emitted, more especially in summer season, pestilential exhalations, producing mortal disorders. But Regnier, too confident in himself, or judging too much of the enemy, consented to commit to the variation of fortune an event otherwise certain. He descended, therefore, from the favouring heights, crossed the fatal river, and advanced into a perilous plain. Perhaps, besides his confidence in himself and his troops, who were in fact brave men, he was further tempted by the consideration of having some squadrons of cavalry which the English were destitute of. He was now joined by the three thousand, and increased the confidence of the French: the English advanced to meet them; the two nations hasted to the struggle.

On the 6th of July the battle commenced with some irregular skirmishing between the light armed troops: then began the contest of the heavy troops—they fired a few volleys of musketry; then, urged by rivalry, and impatient of fighting at a distance, they rushed on each other with fixed bayonets. The *melée* was terr

the French were impetuous, the English steady. The former, either because they had believed they were advancing to secure an easy victory, and were therefore appalled by the unexpected resistance, or by some other circumstance, began, after a short struggle hand to hand, to give way, especially on the left, and then actually fled. The English, quickly pursuing and fiercely pressing on them, made no small slaughter of the fugitives. Regnier strove to regain the day by a charge of cavalry on the left of the enemy; but the English made such an immoveable resistance with their muskets and bayonets, that he was obliged to desist. He then strove, since the attack in the front of the line proved so fruitless, to turn this same wing of the English with the cavalry, and attacking it in flank and rear to put its ranks in disorder. Already had the cavalry circled round the enemy, and the contest became full of peril to the English, when a fresh regiment from Messina, which had just landed at St. Eufemia, arrived on the field, and placing itself behind a slight shelter which the ground afforded, made head against the cavalry, and by

an incessant fire not only arrested their progress but forced them to retreat in some disorder. On this Regnier's troops fled in confusion, each one seeking safety for himself as he best could, regardless of discipline or order. The victory of the English was complete. Regnier erred in having descended to the plain; he erred in having too much extended his line. Six hundred of the French fell on the field, a thousand fell into the hands of the victors, on the field of battle, the rest at Monteleone whither they had retired. The victory was adorned by the capture of General Compere. The fugitives, who were in considerable numbers, many falling into the hands of the Calabrians were cruelly massacred; a few, brought captive to General Stuart, were saved.

The victory of Maida caused a new rising of the Calabrians. They murdered in a barbarous manner all that fell into their hands; while the French, on their side, irritated against men who violated every usage of civilized society, sacked and burned the districts that rose against them, slaughtering the inhabitants, without respect

age or sex. All Calabria was desolated by fire and sword. The French were obliged to retire : the insurgents, become masters of the coasts, established themselves firmly in the principal places which afforded them communication with Sir Sidney Smith, who, in this affair, proved himself most active ; and being furnished by him with arms and ammunition, they passed them into the interior, and thus continually fed the direful conflagration. Amantea, Scalca, and the Isle of Dina, on the coast of Upper Calabria, were held by the Calabrese ; Maratea, Sapei, Camerota, Palinuro, and other districts of the gulf of Policastro, also obeyed them. They were a crowd of cruel reprobates, nor is it possible to praise those who excited them ; both chiefs and followers were for the most part villains. *Pane di Grano*, one of the first, was an infamous priest, condemned for his crimes to the galleys ; *Fra Diavolo*, whose fury raged nearer to Naples, was a man convicted of many robberies and murders ; and, under these, other thieves and assassins enlisted themselves. The English were unable to restrain their ferocity, although General

Stuart humanely endeavoured to his utmost to do so. Whenever they could, the French severely revenged themselves, opposing fury to fury, cruelty to cruelty.

The triumph of Maida was but of short duration: the Napoleonists were strengthened and encouraged. Assassins are but bad allies. The English commander retired to Sicily, leaving only a garrison in the fort of Scilla, of which he had become master.

The siege of Gaeta became more vigorous. Already for several months the Prince of Hesse had bravely defended the city, before whose walls many worthy Frenchmen fell; amongst others General Vallelongue, a man in whom benevolence and probity, science and military virtues were all equally conspicuous: the Prince, seriously wounded, was removed to Sicily. The besiegers prevented sorties by a trench cut from the sea of Mola to the other extremity of the isthmus. By means of the batteries they prevented attacks by sea; a large breach was opened in the wall of the citadel almost at the foot of the counterscarp. The terrible grenadiers of France

were prepared for the assault, and the fortress was surrendered on the 18th of July. In this affair General Campredon showed great skill in the art of conducting sieges, and to him was Napoleon indebted for the reduction of Gaeta; he only complained, being one who always acted the pedant in military matters, in order to make others try to do better than well, that Campredon, in effecting it, had consumed too much powder.

The acquisition of Gaeta much improved the situation of the French in the kingdom. The strong body of troops which had been employed in the siege were sent to recover Calabria. The name of Massena was much feared, and therefore the command was given to him. He was intrusted with authority to render the terror his name excited efficient for his purpose. Joseph declared Calabria in a state of insurrection. The authorities, civil and military, were to be placed in subordination to Massena: he created a military commission for the dispatch of justice, whose sentences were to be executed without appeal within twenty-four hours. The soldiers lived at the expence of the disturbed districts; the pro-

perty of the brigands, and of the heads of rebels, was confiscated; the goods of abbots also were held to be forfeited; those four arms, unless enrolled in the provincial guard, were put to death; the convents which not denounce such of their brotherhood as offenders, were to be suppressed. Massena set out on his commission.

On both sides extraordinary cruelties were committed; Lavria, Sicignano, Abetina, Strongoli were burned. The Napoleonists fought the Calabrese in battle, in the woods, in the tribunals: the Calabrese massacred the Napoleonists in the houses, in secret snares, in combat. Fury produced slaughter—slaughter excited rage anew; civilized men became barbarians, the uncivilized became doubly barbarous. The Calore, the principal stream, into whose waters were thrown in heaps the bodies of the slain, carried to the sea the ensanguined signs of brutal rage of man. The carnage lasted a long time; at last, the discipline and the organized plans of the Napoleonists prevailed: fear and executions subdued, but did not quiet

province; similar horrors sometimes broke out in one place, sometimes in another, a manifest proof that the excesses of hatred and rage are not to be prevented by the sword of the executioner. Nor could Joseph ever subdue Calabria, although he tried the severest remedies, and sometimes also the effect of mildness, by pardoning. The circumstances I have already related are horrible, but greater horrors still remain for me to relate, if I should be permitted to finish this narration, by which it will be seen, that if severity and mercy alternately failed to procure the pacification of Calabria, unmixed cruelty effected it at last. The Calabrese were a ferocious race, that could not be reduced to peace except by extermination.

Faithless counsels, treacherous acts, and a barbarous war ensanguined one coast of the Adriatic, and similar circumstances reduced the other to a similar state; such were the lamentable results of the treachery committed in the states of Venice. The mouths of the Cattaro, the most secure station for ships on the coast of the Adriatic, had been ceded to the French by

the treaty of Campo Formio, in possession of which they were to be put at the expiration of six weeks from that date. At the end of the period, as the French officers did not appear to take possession of it, an agent of the French excited the people of the Bocchetta, and the Montenegrines, a savage race, inhabiting the neighbouring mountains, who were favourable inclined towards his cause, as being also of the Greek church, to rise in arms, persuading them that as the French had not appeared at the appointed time the treaty was cancelled, and the country in their own hands. The Austrian commandant of Castelnovo, however, understood the matter differently, and desired to maintain the treaty. At this juncture, the Marquis Ghislieri, the Austrian commissioner, arrived to make the cession; but, instead of executing his duty, he consented to withdraw his troops from the country (for the French were already in the hand), leaving it in possession of the natives, the Montenegro and the Russians. The Austrian commandants very unwillingly retired from the country, and indignantly protested against

violation of the treaty, nor was the court of Vienna less indignant on the subject. The Marquis was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress of Transylvania.

This breach of faith at Cattaro occasioned a second at Ragusa, of which the French, not succeeding at Cattaro, took possession; no excuse for enmity existed against this peaceful and blameless republic, but it was occupied under the pretext of defending it against the inroads of the Montenegrines. And certainly Napoleon's soldiers did defend Ragusa, that is to say, the town, for the Montenegrines committed horrible ravages in the territory. But Napoleon suppressed the republic, and united it to the kingdom of Italy—a strange mode of preserving it. A diversified war took place: Lauriston, besieged in Ragusa by the Montenegrines, was succoured by Molitor, who defeated them, and drove them back to their mountains. Yet here they still presented a menacing aspect, and infested the country by their continual inroads. But Marmont having induced them, by his military stratagems, to descend to the plain, destroyed

with dreadful carnage their whole force. war was horrible; the Montenegrines made their prisoners, and threw their heads in among the ranks of their shuddering companions. Napoleonists followed the Montenegrines to the mountains, and when they could not take them owing to their concealing themselves in caverns, they drove them out with fire and sword as if they had been wild beasts, and slaughtered them without compassion.

The vain glorious Dandolo, who had been appointed purveyor-general of Dalmatia for Napoleon, chaunted these victories in a boastful strain. And truly nothing was wanting to the scandalous inconsistencies of the age, after the capture of Pesaro an Austrian commissary at Venice, but to see Dandolo Napoleon's purveyor of Dalmatia.

END OF VOL. I.



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The Austrians, under Hiller, invest the kingdom of Italy with a strong force.—Dalmatia and Croatia rise against the French.—Eugene retires.—Battle of Bassano.—Eugene on the Adige.—The Italian generals and soldiers dissatisfied with him.—Nugent makes a stir at the mouths of the Po with the Germans.—Joachim declares against Napoleon, and makes war against the kingdom of Italy.—Battle of the Mincio, between Eugene and Bellegarde.—Bentinck disembarks at Leghorn; talks of the independence of Italy; takes Genoa, and promises the observance of the integrity of the Genoese state.—Tidings received of Napoleon's fatal disasters; of the occupation of Paris by the allies; of his retreat to Fontainebleau with the fragments of his troops; of his abdication; of his having accepted the Island of Elba as his final abode.—Eugene

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opinion in Milan.—Unanimous as to national
ence; but some desire Eugene, and some as
prince as king.—Debate in the senate on the
Popular tumult.—The senate dissolved.—The
colleges convened.—They create a regency,
deputies to Paris, to the Emperor Francis,
independence and an Austrian prince.—The
the mission.—Genoa given to the King of
Conclusion of the work

HISTORY OF ITALY.

CHAPTER V.

Napoleon goes to war with the King of Prussia.—Reverses of the latter.—Adulation, by the Italians, of Napoleon.—Treaty of Fontainebleau, which wrests Portugal from the House of Braganza.—Tuscany wrested from the Spanish race, and placed under Eliza, the sister of Napoleon.—Operations of the Junta created in Tuscany.—Description of the miseries of Italy.—Magnificent works of Napoleon.—He wrests Spain from the Bourbons.—Joachim, King of Naples.—Joseph of Spain.—Joachim goes to take possession of the kingdom.—Fêtes given to him.—The principles and nature of his government.—Sect of Carbonari, how, when, where, and for what purpose it originated: its distinctive rites.—Napoleon turns against the Pope.—Unites the Marches to the kingdom of Italy.—Occupies Rome.—Insults the Pope.—Energetic protestations of Pius the Seventh.—Unhappy vicissitudes in the Marches, on account of the oaths required from the magistrates and ecclesiastics.

FREDERICK of Prussia began to experience the effects of Napoleon's gratitude. The defeat

of Austria had resulted from his imprudentiality; and Napoleon, rising still higher in the ruins of Austria, now aimed at the destruction of Prussia. By treachery, violence, and perfidy, he had degraded her in the eyes of the world, and then strove by open insults to excite her to resentment, confident that she could not successfully struggle against him. He had invaded Hanover, and had persuaded Prussia to accept the territory, a gift fatal to her reputation and fatal in its consequences. He had offended many in the case of the Duke d'Enghien. Prussia displayed no resentment. Frederick patiently the Italian coronation, the annexation of Genoa, the affair of Lucca, the non-fulfilment of the promises made to the King of Sicily. He patiently too did he endure the incarceration of the English envoys in the German territories, the taxes imposed on the Hanseatic cities; the violation of the neutrality of Anspach and Bayreuth. The confederation of the Rhine made Napoleon master of one half of Germany. Frederick, on his part, had consented to a confederation of the north of Germany in his own favor.

Napoleon secretly used his influence with the German princes to prevent it; and, no longer observing any moderation, he took Fulda from the Prince of Orange, who was nearly connected by the ties of relationship with the King of Prussia, and deprived the King himself of the fortress of Wesel, and of the abbacies of Essen, Werden, and Elten. He promised Swedish Pomerania to Prussia, and at the same time bound himself by solemn treaty with Russia to prevent her taking possession of that province; Hanover, which he had offered to Prussia, and which she had subsequently already accepted, he offered to restore to the King of England as the price of peace; finally, he marched an additional force into Germany. Knowing the friend he had to deal with, Frederick flew to arms: Napoleon's sword was also drawn, and he was entitled to use it in his defence, since the King came armed against him; but the criminations that were, at his instigation, published against the Queen, were such as could not but excite disgust and indignation in the mind of every man not entirely divested of all sense of decorum.

HISTORY OF ITALY.

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The system of *Agouti* prevailed
was overturned in 1800 at Mag
Prenio. Bern, the capital, and
... in consequence of the extreme
disorder that prevailed, fell into the
the victor. Such was the result of a
movement of Frederick, who had been
stimulated to it by Alexander of Ru
his own inclination. Alexander arrive

* Joan of Arc, who was born at Domremy in 1412

army in aid of his vanquished friend; but Napoleon surpassed him in daring, in power, and in skill. The battle of Eylau was fiercely contested, and of uncertain issue. The season becoming severe, the French retreated to this side of the Vistula, the Russians to the further banks of the Pregel. When the weather became mild, at the approach of the new year, both armies advanced to meet each other. The combats which ensued were various in their issue, but all equally sanguinary: at last, both parties were arrayed against each other in full force in the plains of Friedland. Here fell the Russian fortunes. The victorious Napoleon menaced the frontiers of Alexander's dominions: Alexander demanded peace. It is reported, that, in their secret conferences, the two Emperors divided the world between them. Napoleon's empire was to be bounded on one side by a line drawn from the mouth of the Vistula, to the island of Corfu, and on the other by the waves of the Baltic, the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Adriatic; the rest was to be the portion of Alexander. Whether this be true or not, an avowed treaty

was concluded on the banks of the Nile. Alexander acknowledged Joseph Napoleon as King of Naples, and Louis Napoleon as King of Holland. He consented to the creation of the Kingdom of Westphalia to be bestowed on Jerome, the younger brother of the Emperor; he consented to the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw of which Frederick Augustus of Saxony was to be sovereign; and he acknowledged the Confederacy of the Rhine; while a secret article stipulated that the mouths of the Cattaro should be evacuated by the Russians, and given to Napoleon; and, finally, Alexander promised to put Napoleon in possession of the seven Ionian Islands—a monstrous stipulation, as their independence had been guaranteed by Russia and the Ottoman Porte conjointly; and one of the parties, therefore, could not in justice consent to undo what had been the joint labour of both.

The achievements of Napoleon in war surpassed in grandeur all that the histories or traditions of men have transmitted to posterity. He has borne down Austria so speedily; a little while after to have overthrown Prussia as sudden-

and then to have met and beaten the hosts of Russia after so long a contest, seemed to be almost fabulous exploits, rather than real events. Struck with wonder, men revolved in their minds the power and valour of Austria, the still recent glory of Frederick of Prussia, the wonderful deeds of Suwarrow, and the opinion entertained of Russian invincibility; and they could not conceive how one nation alone, and a single leader, could have vanquished, almost ere seen, soldiers so brave, and commanders so renowned. The world praised and adored Napoleon—princes first, and among them some of the greatest; their subjects afterwards. There was no longer scope for adulation; the most unmeasured panegyrics fell short of the truth; nor could the most famous poets, though straining every nerve in the effort, arrive at an elevation of such sublimity. Poets called him Jove; priests, the arm of God; princes, brother and lord.

There remained but one means of increasing the glory he had acquired, and this was to support it with moderation. Had he restrained the adulation of a servile age, that rushed on to wel-

ice, but he had created Italy. The Italians
invoked the protection of Heaven for his
safety in his recent perils ; they now offered up
thanks for victory, and for peace. His sub-
missive and affectionate Italian people entreated
Emperor graciously to grant their humble
application ; they implored him to visit that Italy
which he had raised so high from the deepest
basement, which he had recovered from such
state of abjectness, to conduct her to such a
happy destiny. This they desired ; this they
earnestly implored ; this they hoped from his
paternal benevolence ; this would be the most
perfect, the most exalted felicity they could enjoy.”
Napoleon replied, “ that the affection of his Italian
people was grateful to his heart. He had with
pleasure seen their valour shine conspicuous on
the great theatre of the world. So propitious
a commencement would, he hoped, have a cor-
responding conclusion.” In this same place he,
who had vilified with taunts a woman of
exalted worth, solely because she had loved and
defended her country against him, proceeded to
say, that the Italian ladies should send from

their presence the youths who spent their
in listless indolence, and should forbid the
appear again before them till marked with
nourable scars ; adding “ that he would will
visit Venice, well knowing the love the V
tians bore him.” Napoleon’s speech, on
occasion, excited great admiration in the c
and every one pronounced it beautiful.
part, especially, where he touched on the
the Venetians bore him, was much commende

Caressed by the monks of Mount Cenis ;
comed with fêtes by the Turinese, then rec
freed from Menou, whom the good Pr
Camillo Borghese, succeeded as Gove
general, Napoleon arrived in triumph at
royal and pleasant Milan. A succession of
now commenced ; the soldiers held tournam
the poets sang, the magistrates flattered,
priests bestowed their benedictions. He tro
Melzi with great respect, because he ha
longer occasion for him ; and that he n
be the more completely shrouded, he cro
him Duke of Lodi. In the course of this
tory I have grieved for many fatal events,

for many more must I yet lament; but for none have I mourned, or have I still to mourn over with more sorrow, than to have seen a Melzi contaminated by becoming a satrap of Napoleon.

Napoleon arrived at Venice, and beheld the whole city illuminated; the great canal as light as day—the place of St. Mark more brilliant still. There were regattas, balls, operas, and, what was even worse, there were plaudits of voices and hands. Every thing wore a cheerful and serene aspect; notwithstanding which, he himself dreaded assassination; and Duroc, the grand master of the palace, was more than usually diligent in visiting cellars and cisterns. Some Venetians fluttered round their lord with joyful faces—for the age preferred a base but splendid servitude to honourable obscurity.

The Emperor turned once more to Milan. He received the colleges, and replied to their harangues; he censured the progenitors of the present generation, and lamented that Italy had degenerated from the glories of ancient times; he affirmed that he had done much for the Italians, and would do much more; he admonished them to

remain steady in their union with France, reminded them that the iron crown promised them independence. He passed triumphantly through Lombardy. New designs as to Italy were in his mind, and he prepared for their execution: under his dominion one work of destruction generated another. Because the Prince Regent of Portugal had refused to do all he wished against the English, he had entered into a treaty with the minister of Spain at Fontainebleau, to wrest Portugal from its ancient masters (still present on its soil), and make it over to others. By this treaty France and Spain agreed that the province of Portugal Proper, between the Minho and the Douro, with the city of Oporto, should be ceded to the King of Etruria, who should assume the title of King of Northern Lusitania; that the Algarves should be given to the Prince of Peace, with the title of Prince of Algarve; and that Beira, Transmontanes, and Portuguese Estremadura, should be held in sequestration till a general peace. The King of Etruria was to yield his realm


the Emperor Napoleon, whose troops were to enter Spain, and, in conjunction with the Spanish forces, were to occupy Portugal. A double fraud against Portugal and Spain lurked under the introduction of these troops. The family of Braganza had notice of the plot, and without awaiting the tempest that threatened them, employed their own and the British fleet to convey them to Brazil. Napoleon raised a great uproar on account of their transmigration, and imputed to them, as a crime, their fleeing, as he said, with the English ; as if they had been bound by any obligation to remain in vassalage to him.

On the 22d of November, the ministers of France and Spain entering the apartments of Maria Louisa, Queen Regent of Tuscany, intimated to her that the Tuscan kingdom was at an end, and that the territory had been ceded to the Emperor Napoleon; but that, in compensation, other states had been assigned for her and her son Charles Louis to enjoy. On this occasion the words "*in perpetuity*" were omitted ; yet whether this omission proceeded from sincerity or forgetfulness it is

difficult to determine. The fantastical command was obeyed with humility as extraordinary. The Queen signified to her people that Tuscany had been ceded to the Emperor Napoleon, and that she was about to repair to another realm. "You should remember their devotion with delight, you should grieve at their separation, but would console herself with the reflection, that a people so docile was placed under the happy sway of a monarch endowed with all the heroic virtues, among which (to use the very words of the Queen, which were in style, as they were in fact, the expression of a mere secretary) pre-eminently figured the earnest and constant desire to promote and secure the prosperity of the nations subject to him. The Queen had not followed the footsteps of Leopold in Tuscany, but had governed in a more arbitrary manner, and more according to the wishes of the court of Rome. General O'Reilly arrived to take possession in the name of the Emperor Napoleon King. The magistrates took the oaths of allegiance, and the arms of Tuscany were broken and those of Napoleon erected in their place. Menou, the Egyptian, arrived to disturb the

can people. The triumphant Napoleon returned to Paris, his carriages closely followed by those of Maria Louisa and her son.

The harshness of Napoleon, and the rude and impetuous disposition of Menou, were mitigated in Tuscany by a Junta created by the new Sovereign, and composed of just and good men, amongst whom was Degerando, who, ever accustomed to hope, to imagine, and to wish what was right, believed that the Emperor resembled himself. To them was assigned the difficult task of modelling the Tuscan ordinances to those of France. In this matter some things were difficult to accomplish, whilst others were easily effected ; amongst the first may be ranked the judicial, administrative, and military laws. These were introduced into the new province without modification. The Tuscans could not be reconciled to the military regulations, thinking it a monstrous thing that they should be obliged to serve in wars at the most distant extremities of Europe for the interests of France, or rather of her ruler. The Junta laboured not without effect to render the new domination less obnoxious.



First, as to the tax on capital, in consequence of Degerando's acting with great moderation, it did not amount to more than a fifth or to less than a sixth of the interest. The Junta did not neglect commercial affairs : the climate being proper for them, they encouraged the cultivation of cotton; and to improve the woollen manufacture they introduced fine-woolled sheep into the mountainous districts near Sienna. They formed establishments to improve the manufacture of caps at Prato, the shawls, hats, alabasters, and corals of Leghorn and Florence, the chief articles of Tuscan commerce; they liberally granted honours and rewards to the officers. They demanded from Napoleon licence to export silk from Leghorn,—a most advantageous privilege, and indispensable to maintain the manufacture and the cultivation of the mulberry tree in full vigour. They also demanded of the sovereign a chamber of commerce for Leghorn, similar to that at Marseilles, that the merchants of Leghorn might regulate their own affairs independently of the Marsellois. This was not only an useful but a disinterested request on the part of the French Junta, as it made against

interest of Marseilles. These regulations tended to preserve the commerce of Leghorn with the Levant. Neither did the Junta confine their cares to maritime affairs alone, for they petitioned the Emperor to open a road from Arezzo to Rimini, the shortest of all that lead from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic; to restore that between Rome and Florence by the Appian Way; to construct one from Florence to Bologna by the Bisenzio and the Reno; and to finish that which ran by the ancient Via Lauretana, from Sienna to Cortona, Arezzo, and Perugia. Neither were the politer studies neglected; thanks to the solicitude of the learned and excellent Degerando. The universities of Pisa, Florence, and all their dependencies, received every due favour and attention, as did likewise the academies of experimental knowledge, of philology,* of drawing, and of agriculture. Degerando cultivated a fertile soil which gratefully repaid his labours, and these benefits compensated for the oppressive sway of a stern master.

It was now January—the office of the Junta ceased; and the Princess Eliza was named Grand

* The Della Crusca.

Duchess, the government of Tuscany being assigned to her. Either from her natural disposition or for amusement, (resembling her brother rather than one of her own sex) Eliza took most pleasure in military affairs, while she was wholly indifferant as to learning, or to the fame of Tuscany. In this manner ended the Tuscan state, which, from being originally a republic, had passed by usurpation to the Medici family, and had afterwards been wrested from the Medicis by the Austrians, the right of the most powerful, who were well prepared to seize on it as their prey, till it was absorbed and lost in the immensity of France.

In a similar manner and at the same time Napoleon united to the empire the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, calling it the department of the Taro. To the Bourbons of Parma there was left the hope of the sovereignty of the Minho Douro.

I know not whether those who have so far followed this narrative have sufficiently improved their minds with the miseries of Italy.*
 was Piedmont a republic, twice a kingdom,

* From the commencement of the French Revolution in

times under provisional governments—was trampled down by the republican agents under the King, and under the first provisional government;—had been torn to pieces by the Imperial Russian and Austrian agents under the second; and oppressed by the consular agents under the third; and under each there had been perpetual uncertainty, a continual war of opinions, the affections agonized, the interest of all ruined, now by one, now by another party. When a sanative balm began to heal one wound, fresh violence inflicted another. The voice of plaining sorrow was again and again heard. A flourishing country was reduced to squalid poverty. They had hoped for liberty—they found disorganized and unbridled despotism; and this, after lasting many years, was finally changed only for a regular despotism. Security seemed now obtained: yet still some vestiges of past evils remained in the minds of men; and unrepaired ruins attested the violence and frequency of the changes they had gone through. Thrice had Genoa changed under the form of a republic, in constant terror from the presence of

foreign force ; oppressed by the English and by the French, the Prussians, and the Germans ; now in assisting the rights of man, advocating legitimate government ; desolated by siege, desolated by pestilence ; obliged to yield to the violence that which she had acquired by independence. After fifteen years of martyrdom, ten centuries of independence terminated in subjection to the yoke of a soldier. Milan the rich, spoiled by the republicans, then by the adverse party, had been first a republic without a name, then a republic bearing sometimes one name and then another, at one time a German province called an Imperial regency, at another a French province in the style of the kingdom of Italy, but always subject, always in slavery ; and at last she had yielded to him who could believe that the most precious of his conquests was the revival of the iron scepter of Luitprand and the serpent of the Visconti. On the subject of Venice I will be brief, since, after so much slaughter, so many outrages, such frequent spoliation, whether as a German or a French province, she knew all that either servitude or

In afflicted Parma, the traces of the generosity of Dutillet were daily wearing out ; and though wheedled with fair words for the ends of Spain, when under the Duke, she was, nevertheless, in fact, the victim of the extortions of insatiable avarice. Then subjected to the vexatious caprices of Napoleon's agents, first under St. Mery, and subsequently much more under Junot, passing from one form of slavery to another, she was able to judge how much it availed her to appeal and re-appeal for the redress of her grievances to distant Paris. Tuscany had yet a more miserable alternation, of rapine and invasion from without, and of internal disturbances and temporary governments ; now of republican, now of imperial tumults ; of various regencies under various names ; of boy kings and baby kings ; of military commanders with supreme authority ; and of now Austrian, now Bourbon Princes, and now again the Princess Eliza ; of a pestilential inundation of disorderly soldiers—Neapolitan, French, Russian, German, or Northern Italians. The age of Napoleon destroyed the works of the age of Leopold. Rome—red with the blood of the French envoys, was red with the

blood of Romans, slain in the defence of their country's laws,—red with the blood of Italian profusely, but not in the defence of their country's rights; sacked, trampled under foot, torn to pieces by all, she knew not whom she might call a friend or enemy. French, Russians, Germans, Cisalpinians, Neapolitans, and even Turks, attacked her in turn, both by their ambition and by their arms. Her temples were profaned, her sacred treasures robbed, her museums pillaged; the paintings of Raphael were destroyed by barbarian soldiers, notwithstanding that all in turn declared themselves her friends, were guided only by the desire of promoting the happiness and felicity of Rome. Rome beheld a papal government enslaved, a republic enslaved, a restored government restored with an appearance of liberty that was but a mockery; she saw a conquering Pope, a tributary Pope, a captive Pope, summoned to crown his enemy. She saw the French crouching to Turks, papists fawning on the English, real republicans flattering those who were only in name, lovers of liberty paying tributes and oblations to tyrants; witnessed delusive hopes on one side, fraud on the other—and between

sion and fraud there arose a labyrinth of deception, a mirage of chimerical expectation, a perversion of judgment, such as to force one to confess that if the gregarious instinct were not all-powerful in man, the Roman people would have dispersed to lead an erratic life in sylvan solitude, or have remained together only to destroy each other. Never was a series of more afflicting experiments made on an unhappy people, or to equal those of which the Romans were the victims. That they should have survived them seems miraculous. Yet if greater evils they could not endure, greater scandals they were yet destined to behold, and we, with grief and indignation, to relate. It might have been thought that monarchy would have respected the rights of monarchy; but the injuries inflicted by her were greater than the evils caused by anarchy. Such was the condition of desolated Rome,—the treasury exhausted, individuals in poverty, the ornaments of the city lost, the minds of men divided, and all things inciting to revenge. In coming to speak of Naples, I know not how to furnish myself with adequate expressions; for the people are like the climate. On the one side an

extreme of benevolence that borders on idealism, on the other an extreme of hatred that borders on ferocity ; conspiracies, civil war, foreign wars, conflagrations, devastation, treachery, executions of the virtuous, and of the infamous ; the sword of the executioner fell more frequently on the just than on the unjust. To these we add acts of heroism, of invincible courage, of perfect friendship even in misfortune, civic moderation even in want, the gentlest thoughts of humanity, the purest desires for the common good ; now a kingdom agitated by conspiracy, now a republic contaminated by rapine, now a kingdom full of cruelty, and now the theatre of rapine also ; Ferdinand twice driven away, twice restored ; a republic the slave of France, a monarchy the slave of England ; a republic established by force through the agency of a soldier, a monarchy restored by force through the agency of a priest ;* the first accomplished by an immense slaughter of Lazzaroni, the latter by an immense number of republicans. The same individual

* Cardinal Ruffo.—He died at Naples, Dec. 13th, 1806, his 83d year.

had fawned on Championnet the republican, and on Ferdinand the King, now crouched to the monarch Joseph; and on another side might be beheld on the same field the cross of Christ in close alliance with the crescent of Mahomet. Altogether these things form a tale so marvellous, that when the eyes and the ears of those who have seen them and have heard them shall be closed, none could be found to give them credit, were not testimonies multiplied by the press.

No good institution could arise out of so miserable a medley. Every foundation of civil order was broken up, and soldiers were formed to serve others. Some maintain that a good effect was produced from this in the Italian kingdom at least, as there the military spirit was revived, and good soldiers were formed for the defence of Italy. Certainly excellent soldiers were formed under Napoleon; yet employed as they were in foreign contests, I do not see how they were to love Italy; and how they were to learn to defend her, unless we choose to believe that devastating the territory of others, and destroying the name and independence

of foreign nations, is a beneficial lesson of patriotism to soldiers.

Slavery, however, arrayed herself in splendor and in this Napoleon was unparalleled; for works of the greatest magnificence, works of the greatest utility, were executed. Milan, more especially, excelled in magnificence: the noble mass of the Ambrosian temple was daily increasing—the triumph of Buonaparte daily becoming greater. Viceroy Eugene fostered the higher branches of painting, sculpture, and architecture. The system which promoted slavery promoted also the arts. New canals were cut, new bridges raised, new roads opened. Neither rocks nor precipices were esteemed any obstacle; for, stimulated by Napoleon, human skill overcame every difficulty. Under his reign, and at his command, two roads were executed, to which the most splendid and the most useful of those of the ancient Romans scarcely be compared. These were the road of the Simplon and that of Mont Cenis, which, affording an easy opening amongst the bleakest and highest rocks of Italy and France, will perpetually

to future ages the skill and activity of the French, and the power of him who ruled the destinies of the world in the beginning of the nineteenth century. How would he have deserved our blessings, had he not corrupted, by despotism, the benefits he thus conferred?

The time had now arrived for Napoleon to turn against the King of Spain, and the means employed were worthy of the end proposed. To sow discord in the royal family; to raise suspicions in the breast of the father against the son; to excite anger in the mind of the son against the father; to place in doubt the conjugal fidelity of the Queen; and, at the same time, to caress the object who caused those doubts to be felt, making him an instrument of the intended treachery against the state; to asperse the fame of a deceased princess, reproaching her with being of the blood of Caroline of Naples; to accuse a Spanish prince of taking part in the machinations of Caroline, because he loved Spain better than France; to cause a suspicion of treason and fraud to fall on every transaction at Madrid and Aranjuez; and to banish from

their precincts, all peace, all trust, and confidence; to these ends were the arts of Napoleon directed. The impetuosity of the Spanish character burst for a time his web of treachery by raising Ferdinand to the throne, and deposing Charles; but Napoleon quickly wove a new thread anew, and the unexpected occurrence at Aranjuez, which had threatened to destroy his snare, afforded him an opportunity of giving it full effect. His flatteries decoyed Charles to Bayonne; and he succeeded in alluring Ferdinand thither also. He now rejoiced in the completion of his plot; he made the father term his son a rebel, and the mother term him a bastard; he made the public gazettes accuse him of an intended parricide; he constrained both the father and the son to abdicate in his favor; the former he banished to Marseilles, there to possess but a shadow of freedom, and the latter he sent a prisoner to Valencey. His insatiable desire of the exaltation of his own family impelled him to name Joseph King of Spain, Murat King of Naples. For this purpose the treaty of Fontainebleau been concluded.

which, in promising increase of territory to the King of Spain, had procured the introduction of the French troops into his kingdom. But consequences far different from the results anticipated by the framer of these machinations arose out of them. The Spaniards, indignant at the infamous treachery, rose against the French. Napoleon and his hireling scribes called them brigands and assassins; the only calumny wanting to fill up the full measure of injury.

Napoleon, being obliged to diminish his force in Germany, in order to increase his army in Spain, began to fear some re-action in that quarter; he, therefore, deemed a fresh demonstration of friendship on the part of Russia desirable; and, in compliance with his pressing requests, Alexander met him at Erfurth. Here the public ceremonials of reception were splendid—the private conferences marked by familiar intimacy. The world was filled with expectation and fear, in thus seeing monarchs powerful beyond all their contemporaries discuss together the destinies of mankind. Those who abhorred the despotic empire of Napoleon despaired of

the liberties of Europe, because the two ponderating powers being animated by one will, there was none left to whom appeal might be made; none who could afford succour or relief, no source of hope. Those who dreaded the gradually increasing power of Russia were averse to see her called to take so active a part in the affairs of Europe; especially as her passions are more easily contracted than laid aside, and her desire of domination never diminishes; but, on the contrary, continually increases, nor ever admits of cure. The conduct of Napoleon was inconsistent and capricious, and his measures were therefore, not likely to last: while the wary and methodical proceedings of Russia gave birth to a founded cause of alarm. The scenes that were acted at Erfurth had, on the part of Napoleon, more of display than of policy; but on the part of Alexander, there was more art than exhibition.

Joachim Murat, the new King of Naples, announced his accession to the nation. "I am, O august Napoleon," he said, "had given him the kingdom of the two Sicilies. Gratitude to the donor, and a desire to benefit his subjects."

would divide his heart. . He would preserve the constitution granted by his predecessor ; he would bring Caroline, his august spouse, Prince Achilles, his royal son, and his other children yet in infancy, and commit them to their faith and their love ; he trusted that the magistrates would fulfil their duty : this would secure the happiness of the people, and his favour as their Sovereign." Neapolitan adulation now commenced its labours. The council of state, the clergy, and the nobility, sent deputies to bear their homage to king Joachim ; they met him at Gaeta, and took the oaths. Naples, in the mean time, put forth tokens of exultation : there were displayed inscriptions, trophies, statues, triumphal arches, every thing in festal pomp. An equestrian statue in the square of the Mercatello was erected to Augustus Napoleon,* another in the square of the palace represented Queen Caroline, under the attributes of Juno. Perignon, a marshal of France, and an esteemed commander, presented the keys of Naples to Joachim. Generals,

* Napoleon was at this period sometimes so called : the princes of his family added his name to their own, as Louis Napoleon—Joseph Napoleon, &c.

chamberlains, equerries, officers, soldiers, with their swords at their sides, some with keys embroidered at their pocket holes, and merous and various multitude of the pop some with laurels and others olive branches. dinal Firrao, bearing the sacred relics, rec Joachim at the porch of the church of Spirito Santo, under the canopy of state, w conducting him to a throne highly ornam for the purpose, mass was performed and Ambrosian hymn chaunted. These cerem being ended, Joachim went to take posse of the royal palace, passing through the of Toledo, which was filled by a crowd of ple, who were much prepossessed by the y and beauty of their new King. A few days wards, the King having met her at San L Queen Caroline made a brilliant and magni entrance : all youth and beauty, like her hus she shone resplendent. The assembled gazed on the symmetry of her form ; they co plated her sweet and noble bearing ; and i sought the features of her brother Napoleon. general acclamation hailed her, happy, good great.

The commencement of Murat's reign was felicitous ; the English, however, occupied the island of Capri, which, being placed at the opening of the gulf, is the key of the bay of Naples. Their presence stimulated all who were averse to the new government, intimidated its adherents, and impeded the freedom of navigation, to the manifest injury of commerce ; besides, it was considered disgraceful, that one of the *Napoleonides* should suffer an enemy so near, and that enemy the English, who were at once so hated and so despised. The indolence of Joseph had patiently suffered the disgrace ; but Joachim, a spirited soldier, was indignant at it, and he thought it necessary to commence his reign by some important enterprise. He armed therefore against Capri : Sir Hudson Lowe was there in garrison with two regiments collected from all the nations of Europe, and which were called the Royal Corsican and the Royal Maltese. The island afforded several strong stations—the heights of Anacarpi, the greater fort, the forts of St. Michael and San Costanzo. A body of French and Neapolitans were sent from Naples and Salerno, under the command of

General Lamarque, to reduce the island; and effected a landing, by means of ladders hung to the rocks by iron hooks, and thus possessed themselves of Anacarpi, though not without difficulty, as the English resolutely defended themselves. Here they took about eight hundred prisoners of the Royal Maltese regiment. Anacarpi commands the upper part of the island, but the lower was yet to be gained. The chief obstacle was the difficulty of the descent by a narrow cut in steps in the rock, into which the forts, especially that of St. Michael incessantly poured their fire. It became necessary to erect batteries on the summits, to level the fortresses. The operations proceeded but slowly—succours of men and ammunition reached the besieged from Sicily; but fortune favoured the enemy, as an adverse gale drove the English out to sea. The King of Naples superintended the operations from the shore of Massa, having waited at the point of Campanella, seizing the propitious moment, sent fresh reinforcements in aid of Lamarque, and the English, already broken, and the forts dismantled, yielded to the conqueror. The Neapolitans

highly gratified by the acquisition of Capri, and from that event augured well of the new government.

The kingdom of Naples contained three classes of people—barons, republicans, and populace. The barons willingly joined the party of the new king, because they were pleased by the honours granted to them, and they were not without hopes of recovering their ancient privileges, or at least of acquiring new ones, as the system of the Napoleonists tended to this end, notwithstanding the demonstrations they put forth to the contrary. The republicans were, on the contrary, inimical to Joachim, not because he was a king, for they easily accommodated themselves to royalty; but because his conduct in Tuscany, where he had driven them forth or bound them in chains like malefactors, had rendered him personally obnoxious to them. They were moreover disgusted by his incredible vanity, which led him to court and caress with the most zealous adulation every bearer of a feudal title. They therefore feared that he would, at some favourable conjuncture, deliver them over as a prey to those who thirsted

for his blood : notwithstanding all this, however, a few favours on his part gained them over, and their minds were subdued by misfortune. The populace, who cared no more for Joachim than they had done for Joseph, would easily have contented themselves with the new government, which had protected them from the oppressions of the barons, and had procured for them quietness and abundance. But Joachim, wholly intent on conciliating the nobles, neglected the people, who, oppressed by the barons and soldiery, became alienated from him. His silence also as to the constitution, which Joseph had appeared willing to grant at the moment of his departure, seemed an omen of his intention to govern despotically. The spirit of discontent was further increased by his introduction of the conscription laws of France; the feudal lords resented this as an infringement of their privileges, and the people could not reconcile themselves to so bold an innovation ; as, however, the provinces were not quieted, and Calabria was, as usual, in a state of furious discord, provincial regiments were enrolled. This measure had been already decreed by Joseph, though

negligently executed under his administration: Thus was every one under arms: they who were not paid as soldiers were obliged to become part of the unpaid militia. Really, when I consider the laws throughout Europe, I feel amazed; for to me it seems that in nations where one half or more of the public revenues go to the pay of standing armies, the people might expect to be protected by them; and that the citizen who contributes his children to their ranks, and his share of taxes towards their support, in order that he should be defended by the government, might well expect to be so; and yet I see, when he has furnished his quota of taxes, and yielded his sons up, still is he obliged to gird on his sword and stand himself upon his own defence. These are the liberties—these the advantages, of European society.

Joachim, a soldier himself, permitted every thing to his soldiery; and an insupportable military license was the result. Hence, also, they became the sole support of his power, and it took no root in the affections of the people. The insolence of the troops continually augmented: not only every desire, but every caprice of the head of a

regiment, nay, even of the inferior officers, were to be complied with, as if they were the laws of the realm ; and whosoever even lamented his submission to their will was ill-treated and incurred some risk of being declared an enemy to the King. The lower order had much reason to complain of the oppressions of the barons ; but those of the King's subalterns were yet more intolerable. The people represented the grievances, and demanded protection and redress, but military predilection spoke louder than their complaints ; and it was held as great good fortune for those who presumed to complain, that they were not visited with severer inflictions than before. An indignant silence, and a sufferance that coveted revenge, reigned in the provinces. Nor was the state any things better in the capital : the royal guard, which waited on the person of Joachim, transgressed beyond all measure. There was no tranquillity allowed to the citizens ; no civil order was observed either in the silence of the night or the enjoyments of the day ; for it was enough to such was the will of an officer of the guard ; importunate noises, threats, and insults, destr

the slumbers or the amusements of every other class. To the military the King permitted every thing. The commissioners of the civil magistracy, who tried to restrain such baneful excesses, were reviled by the soldiers, scoffed at, and beaten; and some of them were even arrested by the unbridled soldiery for having done their duty; were led under the windows of the royal palace, and whilst the King looked on were made the mark of every indignity. This was the condition of Naples,—this was a government worse than that of Turkey; but the reign of Murat was still too recent to admit of such proceedings,—cruel as they regarded his subjects, to himself they were fraught with danger.

The discontents produced by the enormities committed by the troops of Murat gave hopes to the court of Palermo that its fortunes might be re-established in the kingdom beyond the Faro. Meanwhile, the civil war raged in Calabria; nor were the Abruzzi tranquil. In these disturbances there were various factions in arms, and various objects were pursued: some of those who fought against Joachim, and had fought against Joachim

were adherents of Ferdinand,—others were partisans of a republican constitution. I pass those, and they were many, who took arms from a love of pillage and bloodshed. It will perhaps, be deemed tedious if I recount how for what end, the sect of the Carbonari arose at period. Some of the most zealous republicans, having, during the persecution that raged against them, withdrawn themselves to the highest mountains and the deepest recesses of Abruzzo and Calabria, bore with them an extreme hatred to the Sovereign, not only because he had been their persecutor, but because he was likewise King: were they less inflamed with animosity against the French, as well because they had destroyed their own republic, and other similar governments, as because they had persecuted them: nor could they endure with patience that, in their presence, men should talk of Ferdinand, nor even of Joachim, nor so much as of monarchy in the abstract. Though living amid steep rocks, hidden vallies, and solitudes, their hatred against kings and against the French continually augmented. But, at isolated, and scattered far and wide through various places of refuge, no common bond united

them,—they were intent rather on keeping alive the spirit of vengeance within their own minds than on satiating it by overt action. The English, who kept possession of Sicily, were apprised of this angry spirit, and conjectured that it might serve to excite an insurrection against the French. With this view they excited them to confederate amongst themselves, so that they might firmly co-operate in the same designs, and add fresh proselytes to their ranks. To instigate them the rather to this the English promised them some sort of constitution. The sect of the Carbonari thus sprung up, and took their name from the circumstance of *carbone*, that is, charcoal, being made in large quantities in the mountains of the Abruzzo and Calabria, where they first arose and displayed themselves; many of the fraternity also knew and exercised the art of making charcoal. Afterwards, as they were well aware that nothing serves more to attract partisans than occult and extraordinary practices, they established strange ceremonies and rights of admission. The chief instigator of their proceedings, and their principal leader, was Capobianco, a man of great with extraordinary powers of persuasion.

The Carbonari had thus much in common with freemasons, that they passed successively through four ranks, that they jealously concealed their secrets, and were known to each other by peculiar signs. But in other particulars, the two fraternities differed widely, inasmuch as the objects of the freemasons are, as regards others, acts of beneficence,—as regards themselves, the enjoyment of a festive hour; whereas the attention of the Carbonari was exclusively directed to state policy. The rules of the Carbonari were much more austere than those of the freemasons, for they held no banquets, nor did convivial songs or strains of music enliven their meetings. Their symbol was the destruction of the wolf to avenge the slaughter of the lamb; Jesus Christ was figured under the type of the lamb, and kings in general, who they invariably called tyrants, under that of the wolf. In their own jargon they called themselves sheep, and whatever monarch they lived under was termed the wolf. They maintained, moreover, that Jesus Christ had been the first, as he was the most exalted victim of tyranny, and to avenge him they swore to slay all tyrants. Thus then, as

freemasons engage to avenge their Hiram, the Carbonari profess to avenge the death of Christ. Their ranks were chiefly filled up by men of the lowest order of society, whose imaginations were powerfully affected by vivid representations of the passion and death of Christ; and when their mystic rites were performed in their secret assemblies, a bloody corpse was exposed, which they said was the body of Christ: nor is it difficult to judge of the effect such horrible representations were likely to produce on the fervid fancy of Neapolitans. They had various signs of mutual recognition; amongst others, they joined hands, and each made the sign of the cross with his thumb on the palm of his brother. What the freemasons call lodges they called barracks, and termed their meetings sales, alluding to the real Carbonari, who descend from the mountains to the plains in order to vend their charcoal. They were, as we have before intimated, determined republicans, nor would they tolerate the name of any other form of government; and at Catanzaro they had already formed a republic under the command of the same Capobianco whom we have just named. Ranco-

rously did they hate the French, and Murat hated with double rancour, as being both a Frenchman and a king : nevertheless, they were on this account favourably inclined towards Ferdinand, as it was their wish to be without a king altogether. This sect, which first sprang up in Abruzzo and Calabria, spread through the other parts of the kingdom, and finally penetrated into Romagna, where they introduced their customs and gained proselytes to their opinions. In Naples itself they swarmed, and not a few of the Lazzaroni were members of the secret league.

Ferdinand, knowing that the power of the *bonari* was considerable, was persuaded by the urgent solicitations of Caroline, and the promises of the English, to make some attempt to induce them if possible to coalesce with his adherents in order to drive the French out of Naples and to restore himself to the throne. The chief mediator in these negotiations was the Prince of Moliterno, who had recently returned from England, where he had gone in hopes of persuading that government that a declaration of the union and independence of all Italy was a necessary step if they wished

effectually to oppose the French in that kingdom; but the English would not listen to this proposal, distrusting the Prince because he had been a republican. He therefore retired to Calabria, and, putting himself at the head of Cardinal Ruffo's ancient followers, raised a serious commotion against Joachim. He spoke energetically of the union and independence of Italy, and in this project was warmly seconded by the Queen; who had persuaded herself that this allurements would not only excite the people to effect the restoration of her ancient possessions, but also prove the means of gaining some new acquisition of importance. Moliterno seemed well adapted to carry on these negotiations with the Carbonari, because, in the time of Championet, he had been an adherent of the republic, and in consequence of his political opinions had been proscribed by the court; and the Carbonari, partly because they were cruelly persecuted by Murat's soldiers, partly because Moliterno was suspected of republicanism, and partly because they were rejoiced at the prospect of the union and independence of Italy, lent a favourable ear to the

proposals of the Prince and the Queen. Notwithstanding this, they still showed themselves disposed towards Ferdinand, and were extremely reluctant to enter into any agreement with the agents. To overcome their repugnance, the government of Palermo gave them hopes, that a free constitution, in all respects consonant to their desires, should be granted to them. Stimulated by these various motives, and especially by the promises made to them, they, at last, consented to unite with the adherents of Ferdinand, in order to free the kingdom from the French. Such was the determination of the major part; but there were still a rigid amongst the sect abhorring the idea of forming a league of any kind with those who had been the dependents of royalty, continued dissenting, and this party of rigorists consisted of those who had formed the above-mentioned republic of the tanzaro.

The junction of the Carbonari and the royalists gave Ferdinand greater force in Calabria. Joachim, who had not the supineness of Joseph, was not wanting on his side, and made a vig-

resistance, especially in the walled districts; the French troops under Portonneaux, the Neapolitan soldiers, and the provincial guards, co-operated in the general defence. Every thing was thrown into confusion: Calabria appertained neither to Ferdinand nor to Joachim. The military and the insurgents commanded here and there, prevailing now in one place, now in another.

Then ensued all the effects of irregular warfare and civil broils: burnings, devastation, pillage, violation, and not slaughter only, but assassination. These horrible atrocities became the more frequent in proportion as, availing themselves of the confusion of a state of warfare, dissolute men of every description, banditti, thieves, and assassins, who cared neither for republic nor monarchy, for Ferdinand nor Joachim, neither for the French nor the English, for the Pope nor the Grand Turk, but were intent only on pillage and slaughter, issued from their most secret hiding places in order to commit those actions which humanity abhors, and which the historian shudders to recount. Thus from this time Calabria was for

two whole years red with blood wantonly shed, until at last the terror caused by judicial executions brought it to a more tolerable condition.

Ruin prevailed on every side: Spain was in flames; Italy and the southern part of Germany were under the direct dominion of Napoleon. Austria feared him; Prussia obeyed him; Russia was devoted to him; Turkey ranked in the number of his adherents; and the whole European continent, either from necessity or servitude, rendered obedience to Napoleon. One power alone, living in the heart of Italy, destitute of military power, but strong in conscience, resisted the sovereign will. Napoleon, spurred on by ambition, blinded by prosperity, had put forward certain phrases respecting the empire of Charlemagne, calling himself his successor in right, in fact, as if the public officers of France, who received their stipends from him, had possessed the power, when they styled him Emperor of the French, of giving him at the same time the supreme dominion, and the effective possession not only of France, but of the whole of Italy, Spain, and of Germany, of the entire extent

territory, in fine, which composed the empire of the west in the time of that glorious Emperor.

Bearing therefore the standard of Charlemagne on high, Napoleon set forth against the Pope. He could not patiently tolerate the idea that Rome, whose name had so exalted a sound, should not be under his dominion; and was mortified that one small part should yet remain in Italy exempt from his sway. The Pope, on his side, refused to allow himself to be reduced to that servile condition into which almost all the princes of Europe had fallen, some from pusillanimity, others from necessity. Thus while those who were armed succumbed, Pius the Seventh, who was defenceless, resisted, and not only opposed the sovereign lord of France, but strongly remonstrated with him, bitterly complaining, that by the organic articles and the decree of Melzi, both the concordats had been perverted, to the prejudice of the Apostolic See and to the manifest violation of the decrees of the councils, and even of the precepts of the holy gospel itself. He lamented that by the civil code of France, which had been introduced also into Italy by the orders of the Emperor, a law of divorce

was established, which was contrary to the aims of the church and to the divine precepts. He reprobated the equality granted to various religions by the law of France, which professed to be and was a Catholic country, and yet protected Dissenters and Catholics on the same footing, even excepting the Jews, the irreconcilable enemies of the religion of Christ.

On all these subjects he admonished the Emperor, and required him to fulfil the promises he had made for the benefit of the Catholic religion, but Napoleon, the conqueror of Austria, of Prussia, and of Russia, was no longer the Napoleon he had been when yet in the infancy of his power. Determined, therefore, by one means or other to execute his design of making himself master of Rome, whether the Pope should reside there or not, he sent to inform Pius, "that he was the successor of Charlemagne, the possessor of the imperial states, which had been a part of the empire of the said Charlemagne, consequently appertaining to the French empire; that if the Pontiff was lord of Rome, he was not less the emperor of Italy, and that to him as the successor of Charlemagne."

the Pope owed obedience in temporal matters, as he, on the other hand, owed the Pontiff obedience in spiritual concerns; that one of the rights inherent in his crown was that of exhorting, nay, of forcing the ruler of Rome to form with him and with his successors a league offensive and defensive in every war, whether at present or in future; and that the Pope, being the vassal of the empire Charlemagne, could not avoid entering into this league, but was bound to hold as his enemy every enemy of Napoleon. He added, that “if the Pope should refuse to comply with his demands, he possessed the right of annulling the donation of Charlemagne, and of dividing the pontifical states, and bestowing them on whomsoever he chose; that he would separate the temporal from the spiritual authority in the person of the Pope; that he would send a governor to Rome with full powers, and would leave to the Pope only the simple office of bishop of Rome.”

The rigorous demands thus plainly intimated to the Pontiff, who had not given Napoleon any cause of complaint, but had even aided him by his whole authority to mount the Imperial throne,

demonstrated an irrevocable determination. Pope replied, that "it was an extraordinary circumstance that the Sovereign of Rome should be obliged to make his defence against him who in so short time since he had consecrated Emperor. The world knew that the glorious Emperor Charlemagne (whose memory would be for ever revered in the church) had not given the provinces to the Holy See;* for it was known that they had been possessed by the Roman pontiffs in times long anterior to Charlemagne, the free gift of the nations who had been bestowed by the emperors of the east. It was known that in process of time the exarchate of Ravenna and of Pentapolis, which comprised these same provinces, being invaded by the Saracens, the illustrious Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, had taken them out of their hands, and had appropriated them, by a solemn act of consecration, to Pope Stephen. The great Emperor was the ornament and the admiration of the


* Charlemagne has been canonized, and his relics are venerated like those of other saints.

century, not only did not revoke the pious and generous act of his father Pepin, but further confirmed and approved it in the reign of Pope Adrian ; not only did he refuse to despoil the Holy See of her possessions, but his only desire was to restore them to her, and to augment them. So far did this pious spirit excite him, that his testament expressly commanded his three sons to defend the possessions of the church, declaring that his successors possessed no authority nor any right to revoke what his father Pepin had done in favour of the chair of St. Peter ; and that his sole desire was to protect the Roman pontiffs against their enemies, and not to oblige them to declare themselves against them." The Pope then observed, that the lapse of ten centuries—a thousand years of peaceful possession, rendered all anterior research, every posterior interpretation, unnecessary ; and, finally, even supposing that the pretended rights of Charlemagne had not been without foundation, the Emperor Napoleon had not found either the Holy See, or the Pope, in the same situation in which Charlemagne had found them ; since Napoleon had found the Holy See free, and

subject to none, having possessed the full and entire sovereignty of all its states for ten centuries without interruption; and that the sanguinary victories he had gained over other kingdoms gave him no right to invade the states of the Pontiff, the Pontiff had always lived at peace with him.

The Pope replied too seriously to the allegations of Napoleon, for no man thought them more hostile than Napoleon himself: certainly, if ancient pretension, true or assumed, which had been confirmed by time, were to be thus in question, no property would be secure, and the world would be one universal scene of confusion. The Emperor, however, continued to demand in a threatening tone, that the Pope should enter the Italian confederation with the Kings of Sardinia and Naples;—that their enemies should be his enemies, and their friends his friends. But on the Pope's steadily refusing to join this confederation, the Emperor demanded that he should form a league of offence and defence with him; and if he refused, this was to be considered a declaration of war; and Napoleon said he would regard him as an enemy, and would make Rome

own by conquest. This last proposition rendered the situation of the Pope rather worse than better; for the object of the confederacy was a defensive union against the infidels and the English; whereas the league offensive and defensive with Napoleon alone implied that the Pope should make war against any prince or state at war with the Emperor: whence it might arise that he might be obliged not only to make war with a Catholic prince, but even to unite himself to any anti-Catholic power, in order to make war against a Catholic state—a condition of things wholly incompatible with the duties of the Holy See. The Pope further stated, that if pontiffs had in former times been known to enter into treaties, and make war against Catholic princes, it was, however, not in the records of history, that they should bind themselves to engage in perpetual hostility at the will of another, without enjoying the privilege of exercising their own judgment as to the justice of the motives, but simply because it was the pleasure of another. Pius exclaimed that his soul was afflicted with grief and horror, when he reflected on the nature of the alliance the Emperor



had demanded, "Would not such a league, offensive and defensive, arm the father against the son against the father? Was not this to engage the church of God in endless quarrels,—the church in which charity, peace, and gentleness with every other virtue, ought to dwell as in their own proper sanctuary; was not this to desire that the supreme Pontiff should no longer be Aaron or Ishmael, a man of blood, an alien to civilized society, his hand lifted against every man, and the hand of every man lifted against him? Must he not thus raise the standard of war against his brethren? Was this the mode in which peace was to be restored to the church of God?—that peace which the divine Saviour had left to the apostles, to the pontiffs, their successors, and to Pius himself? The Emperor should seek this peace, which is the peace of the wise, a peace better than the triumphs of the warrior, the peace of those true wise who are the salvation of the earth; he should seek that wisdom which renders a monarch the stay of his people; but if he would not seek it himself, he ought at least to suffer the pontiffs to enjoy it, whose proper inheritance it was, given

them by Christ the Redeemer. The Pope was the common father of all believers ; he was bound to bestow on them all spiritual aid: this aid it would not be possible for him to communicate to the subjects of a prince against whom, in virtue of the league, he might be obliged to wage war. The lustre of a double sovereignty adorned the pontificate, and it behoved him not to derogate in aught from his primary spiritual office out of temporal motives, nor act in aught to the prejudice of that religion, of which he was the head, the disseminator, and the defender.”

Having thus solemnly declared his sentiments to Napoleon, Pius proceeded to say, “that if for the hidden designs of God, the Emperor should put his threats into execution, and possess himself of the states of the church by conquest, his Holiness being unable to prevent so fatal an event, would protest against it, as a violent and iniquitous usurpation ; he moreover declared, that not the work of genius, of policy, or of knowledge (Napoleon having used these same words in speaking of the ordinances of the Roman See) would be destroyed, but truly that of God himself, from whom all

sovereignty proceeded; his Holiness humbly
ing the decrees of heaven, would console hi
with the thought, that God is the almighty f
of all, and that all things yield to his divine
when that fulness of time pre-ordained by
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Milan and Naples, which he did not command
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states should be shut against the English. T
the Pontiff replied, “that if Napoleon had
possession of Naples, Milan, and Tuscany
was certainly no fault of his: and that in fo

wars between France, Austria, and Spain, the pontifical states had always been intermediate, a circumstance of which these powers had never complained, nor even had thought of making it a pretext for depriving the sovereigns of Rome of their dominions; in the present case, the alleged interruption did not exist, the Roman state being occupied by the soldiers of the Emperor, who with full liberty, and to the intolerable burthen of the apostolical chamber, continually passed and re-passed to and from the kingdom of Italy and the kingdom of Naples. As for shutting the ports against the English, although it might be feared that it could not be done without some injury to the Catholics who inhabited Ireland, the Pope would, nevertheless, for the love of peace concede this point to the Emperor."

Napoleon, to whom the Imperial crown seemed defective as long as Rome was wanting to his empire, prepared to subvert that power which for so many centuries, and amidst so many revolutions in Italy and throughout the rest of the world, had continued to subsist. That force might be aided by fraud, he accompanied his declarations by

phrases of humanity, expressing a desire to promote the liberty of the secular power : “ Pius he said, “ were not fit to govern ; immersed in theological studies, they were unacquainted with the world. Rome had sufficiently agitated the mind of the age could no longer tolerate her usurpation. The progress of knowledge had shown in the estimation the decrees of the Vatican were no longer held. Every one was now convinced of the absurdity of uniting the sacerdotal and regal authority, the temporal with the spiritual authority, the crown and the tiara, the sword and the crosier. Jesus Christ had said that his kingdom was not of this world, the kingdom of his vicar ought therefore, to be an earthly throne. Charles V. had given the sovereignty of Rome to the Pope for the good of Christendom, and not to enable them to spread discord and war : then, since they had chosen to abuse the gift, it ought to be revoked. Pius was in future to be no longer a secular ruler, but simply the bishop, of Rome. By this means tranquillity and the interests of religion would be provided for at one and the same time. In order to make himself Emperor, Napoleon

employed religion against philosophy, and now to make himself master of Rome he armed himself with philosophy against religion; alternately stimulating, as the dictates of his ambition prompted, the priests against the philosophers, and the philosophers against the priests. Foreseeing that a great number of the pious in France would advocate the justice of the Pope's cause, would hear with displeasure the resolutions he had taken against them, and would call them *persecutions*, a word of powerful effect amongst Christians, he applied himself to flatter the French with his usual art, by an attempt to increase the dignity and the authority of the nation in ecclesiastical matters; believing that the French, having already the predominance in temporal affairs, would be well pleased to acquire it in spiritual concerns also: he therefore urgently demanded, that the Pope should acknowledge a right in him to nominate so many cardinals; that the third at least of the sacred college should be French, threatening as usual to deprive the Pope of his temporal power in case of refusal. If the Pope consented to this, Napoleon would acquire a preponderating influence in every

deliberation of the sacred college, and especially in the nomination of popes; if he it would appear to the French nation, refused them that which they believed to be of France fully entitled her to. The Pope that he could not consent to a demand which infringed the liberty of the church—violated the integral principles of her constitution. “Was it not known to every one that the college of cardinals was the most important and the essential part of the Roman hierarchy. His first duty was to advise the supreme pontiff who then possessed, who then ought to possess the privilege of electing men capable of worth to support so exalted a dignity, so serious a responsibility, if it were not he whom it was their duty to counsel? Had not all the princes of the world their counsellors of their own election? Why should this privilege be denied to the church and the Roman pontiff alone? If the cardinals were not only the counsellors but the electors of the popes; and what freedom there be in the elections if a temporal prince had the right to name so great a proportion of the electors?”

If this power were granted to Napoleon, would not other princes demand the same, and would not the Roman pontiff then be entirely in the power of the secular princes? It was undoubtedly expedient that the cardinals should be elected from every Catholic nation; but expediency was not necessity. The only rule the pope should observe, in the election of cardinals, was to prefer those who were most distinguished for virtue, for learning, and for piety, of whatever nation they might be, whatever language they might speak. The Pope knew that his refusal would be misrepresented by the malicious, and attributed to an unjust depreciation of the clergy of France; but he called God and man to witness that such were not his sentiments. The clergy themselves, the Emperor, and the world in general, must be convinced of this, as they already saw amidst the members of the sacred college, besides two Genoese and one native of Alexandria, seven cardinals of the French nation, to which number it was his intention to add one other learned and virtuous prelate. Whosoever was capable of being contented would content himself with this; but the

Holy Father could not gratify others but that which was repugnant to his own mind.

The Emperor adhered inflexibly to his position—he sent a fresh intimation to the Pope if he did not concede to his nomination of two of the cardinals he would deprive him of the Roman territory. Having endeavoured to make Pius odious to the French, he next sought to render him despicable in the eyes of the world. He imperiously required him to send from the consul of Ferdinand of Naples; on whom he replied, that he was not at war with that monarch who still possessed the realm of Sicily—was a Catholic sovereign, one whom he never treat as an enemy, by driving his representative from Rome. The much-coveted Rome was in the hands of him who coveted all things. If the design had been unjust the execution was fraudulent. The Napoleonists approached the confines of the venerable city, but professed hostile intentions against her. They spread report that they were merely on their march to Naples, and were seven thousand in number with Miollis for their commander. A militia

mander, however, was not expected to be equal of himself alone to the task of oppressing a pope; therefore Alquier, Napoleon's ambassador at Rome, laboured to the same end, and he used even harsher language than the soldier, and more closely imitated his master. About the end of January, Alquier sent to inform Cardinal Philip Casoni, the secretary of state, that seven thousand of the Emperor's troops were to pass through the Roman territory without making any stay in its confines, that Miollis promised that they should pass without any injury to the country, and that he was a man of such character that his promises were certainty. Alquier sent also with this letter the official route of the soldiers, from which it appeared that their line of march was indeed directed to the kingdom of Naples, without passing by Rome ;—of such mighty importance was it to delude a pope. Various rumours, however, prevailed : some maintained that the troops were designed for the kingdom of Naples ; others, that they were making against Rome through the medium of the Cardinal secretary. The Pope formally required Miollis to declare openly and

without equivocation the object of the march of these soldiers, in order that his Holiness might act accordingly; Miollis replied, that he forwarded the prescribed route of the march, and that that ought to be sufficient to satisfy the ministers of his Holiness. Time pressed—Napoleon's officers continued their march, the usual derisive jokes being uttered, with the usual derision of the priests, of the Pope, and of the papal army. They began next to threaten that they would enter Rome and occupy the city. The Pope protested anew—forbade them to enter the city and commanded them to pass without troubling him, protesting that, if they refused, he would consider it a declaration of war, and every diplomatic relation should be thereby terminated. The Napoleonists were already so near as to be in sight of the walls, and Alquier continued to renew his protestations to the Holy Father, affirming with the most solemn asseveration that they were only passing through, and without hostile intention. In the mean time the troops arrived close at hand, and on the s

February, attacking the Porta del Popolo, entered it by force, took the castle of St. Angelo, seized all the military posts, and carried their violence so far as to plant their cannon with their mouths turned towards the Quirinal, the peaceful habitation of the Pope. Posterity will place these promises of Alquier, and his confirmatory appeal to the honour of a general officer, on a par with the indignation expressed by Ginguenè, the ambassador of the Directory at Turin, at the base thought that the Piedmontese government could suspect that the French would turn the possession of the citadel against the king. That no circumstance of effrontery might be wanting in this disgusting transaction, Miollis demanded, through Alquier, an audience of the Holy Father, and having obtained it, excused himself by saying that it had not been by his orders that the mouths of the cannon had been turned towards the Quirinal, as if the injury done to the sovereign of Rome and the head of Christendom had consisted only of this single act of violence, which, however, was certainly a grievous outrage: of the fraudu-

lent and forcible occupation of Rome, which was the real matter of importance, he made not the slightest mention.

Fresh insults were continually heaped on the Pope—Napoleon accused him of having given an asylum in his states to Neapolitan brigands, rebels and conspirators against Murat; he affirmed that this was the reason he had occupied Rome, and accused the Pope himself of complicity. Alquier made it a cause of complaint, as if he did not know that the soldiers of Napoleon, for a long time past, had been the masters of the papal states, and that they had acted on their own authority, contrary to the law of nations; that there arrested and imprisoned, not only those who were suspected, but those also who did not stand under a suspicion of crime; and that the papal government itself, whenever application had been made to it, had ordered the arrest and the imprisonment of all who were obnoxious to Napoleon. Finally, Alquier—and I know not whether his conduct in this instance were madness or moderation—desired that the Pope should still continue to treat as friends the troops that had violated

occupied his capital and the seat of his government, and had planted against his peaceful and defenceless palace those deadly instruments of war which ought to be directed only against the fortified towers of an enemy. At this last stroke the Pope, unable to contain his indignation any longer, wrote to Napoleon's ambassador, that he could not continue to regard as friends those troops who, breaking the most solemn promises, had violated the sanctity of his own personal residence,—had infringed upon his liberty,—had occupied the city and the castle, and had turned their cannon against his actual habitation ; and who, moreover, were an intolerable burthen to his treasury and his people. He concluded by declaring that, being deprived of his liberty, and reduced to the condition of a prisoner, he would negotiate no longer, nor in future treat with France on any political subject, until he were again restored to security and perfect liberty.

The hardships the Pope endured daily increased. Napoleon's lieutenant ordered the Neapolitan cardinals, Ruffo, Scilla, Pignatelli, Saluzzo, Caracciolo, Caraffa, Trajetto, and Firrao,

to quit Rome in the space of twenty-four hours, and return to Naples; and if they refused to comply, they were threatened with forcible expulsion. The cardinals of the Italian party received a similar command, but their departure was limited to three hours. These Italian cardinals were Valenti, Caradini, Casoni, Crivelli, Doria, Della Somaglia, Roverella, Scotti, D. Braschi-Onesti, Litta, Galeffi, Antonio D. Locatelli. They replied, that they owed obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, and would obey his commands whatever they might be.

Although he was so entirely in the power of another, the Pope deeply resented the insults: he wrote to the cardinals, exhorting them to remember their oaths of fealty and the duty they owed to the Holy See, beseeching them to imitate his example, and to bear suffering rather than act unworthily. "His Holiness could not permit them to set out from Rome; he prohibited their departure collectively and individually, in the virtue of that obedience which they had sworn to his authority. He commanded them to remain, seeing that shameful violence would be resorted to if they departed."

in order to tear them from his bosom, to remain at whatever place they were carried to, and forbade them to continue their journey, whatever might be the distance from Rome at which they were left, that thus the world might perceive, that external violence, and not their own free will, had caused their removal."

The Pope was gradually despoiled of his sovereignty by the insolent intruders; but though they hesitated not to commit these acts of aggression, they were unwilling that it should be known. Napoleon's soldiers were sent to drive away the Pontifical guard from the post offices, and thus every thing fell into their hands: they then employed spies, who not only possessed themselves of the contents of the despatches, but opened and read private letters—a monstrous breach of public and private faith, and of the law of nations. For a similar purpose they seized all the printing presses, so that nothing could be printed without their permission: hence, it happened, that the writings which were daily published, especially the Gazettes, were filled with flatteries towards Napoleon, and endless satires against the Pope; Pius himself

could not print his address to the cardinals in the month of March, but was obliged to circulate about written copies subscribed with his own hand.

Having first lost his civil power, they now to be deprived of his military authority, they began by endeavouring to seduce the cardinals by extolling the glory of Napoleon and the valor of his army; and they vehemently urged them to abandon the ensigns of the church, and to place themselves under the Imperial banner. Some cardinals consented; the greater part refused. In vain, proving powerless, force was resorted to. On the 25th of March Miollis addressed the cardinals, and told them, that the Emperor was well pleased with them, that he would not in the future suffer them to receive orders either from priests or from women,—that soldiers only were to be commanded by soldiers; they might not follow priests; that they would never more follow the priests; the Emperor would give them honor only worthy by their courage of commanding. These taunts were peculiarly offensive: the cardinals, at rest, though neither the Pope nor any

cardinals, nor any Roman lady was either general or colonel, yet there have been instances in all ages and in all countries, even in France and in the recent kingdom of Italy, of both priests and women having commanded soldiers, in the manner spoken of by Miollis ; nor can aught be urged in extenuation of it. Miollis himself saw what was worse ; for he saw the Princess Eliza, and Queen Caroline, of the Napoleon family, command at reviews, and order the manœuvres of the Imperial soldiers. A Colonel Frici failing in his allegiance, made his bargain with the new sovereign, and he was favoured ; a Colonel Bracci refused ; and he was first imprisoned and then banished : three others were sent to the prisons of the fortress of Mantua, for having kept their faith inviolate : thus did the Napoleonists esteem, and thus did they reward, the men who remained faithful to their prince and their country. The soldiers were forced to follow the ensigns of Napoleon : they were sent in the first instance to Ancona, and then to the kingdom of Italy, to be trained according to the Imperial ordinances.

The Holy Father remained in his palace with a

small guard, and that rather as a mark of
 than for defence. The Imperial troops
 sawed a descent into his last retreat, by a
 wall of fractured stones, not contented as
 Pope was in all respects a hopeless capti-
 the fall of which they set about the night
 of taking the papal palace. The
 soldiers presented themselves at the gate
 the Swiss guard on guard replied, that
 he would the troops, but would permit of
 the entrance of them to enter alone. The
 commander seemed satisfied with this, and
 began to fall and entered singly :
 when the wicket opened, and the
 admitted that, adding treachery to viol-
 made a sign to his men to force their
 They entered, turning their bayonets ag-
 Swiss and occupied the passage : they d-
 the papal guard, breaking open the gates
 drawn up, and penetrated into the
 private recesses. They offered to take
 tain of the Swiss guard into the pay and
 of France, but he persisted in declining it.
 The same offer was made to the guards

treasury, and, on their refusing to accept it, they were imprisoned in the castle. In the mean time, other bodies of the Imperial troops made the circuit of the city, and arrested all of the guard of nobles whom they encountered.

The Pope complained grievously to Miollis of these excesses, but his remonstrances did not move that general; on the contrary, increasing in violence, he arrested Guidobono Cavalchini, the governor of Rome, and ordered him to be taken to Fenestrella, a fortress in the gorge of the Alps above Pinerolo, which had been built by the King of Sardinia for the defence of Italy, but was now converted by Napoleon into a prison, for those Italians who preferred loyalty to treason. They accused Cavalchini of having refused to administer justice according to the laws and customs of the country, a crime of which, if he were indeed guilty, the Pope alone and not foreigners should have judged. The French soldiers carried the prelate to the rocky caves of the dreary Fenestrella. On this the Pontiff rising above himself, remonstrated with Napoleon in a solemn and prophetic strain: "By the bowels of the mercy of

our God," he said, "of that God who can rising sun to visit us from on high, we ex beseech, we conjure thee, Napoleon, Emperor King, to change thy councils, to return sentiments which adorned thy early Remember that God is king over thee; that no excepter of persons; that he respects greatness of created man. Ever remember bear in mind, that he will manifest himself that quickly, in a terrific manner; and he will judge with extreme rigour all those have command over others."

Blind to the future, and impelled by inevitable destiny, Napoleon hearkened not to the awful and prophetic words of the pontifical decree of the second of April declared, that the actual Sovereign of Rome had refused to make war against the English, and to join the Kings of Italy and of Naples in the co-defence of the peninsula, and that as the interests of these two realms and of the army of Italy and of Naples required that the communication not be interrupted by an unfriendly power, seeing that the donation of Charlemagne

illustrious predecessor, had bestowed the pontifical states for the benefit of Christianity, and not to promote the advantage of the enemies of our holy religion; and, finally, as the ambassador of the court of Rome had demanded his passports, in order to quit Paris; the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, were to be irrevocably and for ever united to his kingdom of Italy." On the 11th of May, the kingdom of Italy was to take possession of the four provinces, where the Napoleon code of laws was to be published and executed. The Viceroy was furnished with full powers to provide for the execution of the decree.

But already, even before this decree was promulgated, and even while the negotiations with the Holy See were yet pending, Napoleon had not only exercised sovereign authority in the four provinces, to the manifest violation of the privileges of the Pope, but had also committed an act of real tyranny. He sent there General Lemarrois, with the title and authority of governor, who had no sooner reached Ancona than he tore down the arms of the Pope from the gate, substituting those


of the Emperor ; he then changed the ma of the province ; and even proceeded so f arrest and imprison Rivarola, the papal of Macerata.

By another decree of this same 2d c the Emperor, knowing how many prelates of the united provinces, were at Rome service of the Pope, and wishing to depriv the aid and support of such a numerous servants and friends, commanded all the c prelates, officers, and ministers of every tion, natives of the kingdom of Italy, w employed at the court of Rome, to repa Italian realm before the 25th of May, on their goods being seized by the treasur those who delayed till the 5th of June have their property sequestrated. This e the more blameable, as it prevented the F only from exercising his temporal au which the Emperor averred was that alon he wished to annul, but also prevented t cise of his spiritual functions ; since the of himself alone, without either counse ministers, could not fulfil the duties eith

ecclesiastical or his secular office. I pass over the cruelty of wishing, under penalty of the confiscation of goods, to deprive long tried and aged servants of the best consolations of life, of the soothing charm that embellished the dwelling which they had long inhabited, of the cheering influence of the air they had long been used to breathe. Nor can I understand the new doctrine which would deprive a blameless man of the privilege of living wherever his convenience or his pleasure might dictate, and which would oblige him to live on the spot where he was born, as if he were a mere vegetable product, a plant rooted in the soil.*

Nor was this violence put in practice only

* This is not, however, a new doctrine in Piedmont, the native country of Botta. (See the Memoirs of Alfieri.) In many of the old continental states, it was necessary to obtain the permission of the Prince even to travel for a short time; and this permission is now not unfrequently a lenient mode of exile. A Spanish grandee of our own times perceiving that he was falling into disgrace at the court of Ferdinand, demanded permission to travel for six months: "willingly," replied the minister, "if you delay your return for six years." Many of the Italian nobles of the present day are similarly situated: in this case their incomes are remitted to them.—*Tr.*



against such of the servants of the Pope as were natives of the kingdom of Italy, but they included those also who, although born in France, possessed any ecclesiastical office in that country. On the 15th of June, some of the Imperial soldiers entered the Pontifical palace, and bursting their threats into the apartments of Cardinal Gabrielli, the secretary of state, and his brother Sinigaglia, they sealed up his portfolio, committed it to the custody of a private soldier; and in the rude and familiar style of the guard they ordered the Cardinal to leave Rome within the end of two days, and be gone to his see at Sinigaglia. In this manner they oppressed and drove away a native of Rome (which they had no legal right to do), a man of illustrious lineage, acknowledged virtue, a bishop, a cardinal, and prime minister of the Pope. The presumption of the act was increased by the order having been given to him in the papal palace, in the presence of the Pontiff himself. This violent outrage was committed by the Napoleonists against the Cardinal, because he had, in obedience to the orders of his sovereign, given instructions for

guidance in matters of conscience for those who sought them. The Pope exclaimed against these actions as criminal, but the Imperialists disregarded his censures.

By a decree of the 20th of May, the Viceroy Eugene allotted the four provinces into the three departments, which he named the Metauro, the Musone, and the Tronto. The capital of the first was Ancona, of the second Macerata, of the third Tronto. In these united provinces they exacted oaths of allegiance to the Emperor, and of obedience to the laws and constitution. The Pope, who had not acknowledged the annexation, and who had even protested against it, would not consent to an unqualified oath of fealty to the new sovereign. Amongst the laws to which they required the people and clergy to swear obedience, was the code of Napoleon, in which, according to the opinion of the Pope, there were some articles, especially amongst the laws respecting marriage, which were contrary to the precepts of the gospel, and the decrees of general councils, particularly of the Council of Trent. Pius wrote therefore to the bishops, forbidding the

oaths to be taken without limitation, as it
be an act of treason to the legitimate govern-
they were to confine their promises and
an engagement not to join in any act of
or in any plot against the actual government
to render it obedience in every thing that
not contrary to the laws of God and of the
He further enjoined that no man should
take this oath till reduced to the last need
or when the refusal should entail some
peril or injury. He protested that this com-
on his part did not imply the renunciation
of his rights over his subjects, or of those
rights which were contested with him, which
desired to keep whole and intact. He
forbade any man to accept of any office or
ment which should involve an acknowle-
of the usurped authority; and he finally
his will to be, that bishops and other eccle-
pastors should not chaunt the spiritual
especially the *Te Deum*, because it was
becoming, whilst the church was in such
affliction, and the victim of such viole-
injustice, that any sounds of joy should be
in the holy temples.

These orders of the Pope respecting the oaths placed the bishops in a situation of great difficulty. For, on one side, Napoleon would not relax in any thing from his resolution ; and, on the other, the bishops were unwilling to transgress the commands of the supreme head of the church. Placed thus between spiritual and temporal penalties, they knew not what part to take ; for, as the case stood, there were exile and confiscation on one side, and contumacy on the other. It was also worthy of consideration, that in case of their obeying the Pope, and incurring this banishment, their flocks would be deprived of spiritual aid and consolation. Napoleon, in the mean time, stormed with rage, and through the minister of the officiality, intimated that those who did not go to Milan to take the oaths, should be put under law, and their goods confiscated. The greater number obeyed the commands of the Pope, and for doing so, Cardinal Gabrielli, bishop of Sinigaglia, Capelletti, bishop of Arcolo, and Montalto, bishop of Castiglione, with several of their companions, were on the point of being taken and removed to remote districts, under the

further hardship of confiscation. Fortune at this conjuncture the Viceroy, sent by his Majesty who dreaded what might result from the severity of the times, arrived to mitigate the severity of the times, and to afford them consolation. The bishops saw the young Viceroy, and being closetted with him, heard him explain their conscientious scruples, and the faults they had displayed in refusing to act contrary to their own sense of right, and the commands of the supreme moderator of the church. He informed them that it was the intention of the Emperor to delay proceeding to extremities some days; during which interval they were to send deputies to the Holy Father, and endeavour to procure his permission to take the oaths with some modifications: the modifications agreed to by the Emperor were of three sorts—first, the bishops should be excused from going to Milan, but might take the oaths before the Emperor's representatives; secondly, no other oath should be required from them than that ordained by the council and approved by the Pope, in which no mention was made of laws and constitutions; and

they should be permitted, before they pronounced the oath in form, to express, as publicly as they chose, that they took it only in the direct and purely Catholic sense of the words; and thus he hoped that the government would be satisfied, and their consciences at peace. The Pope, however, would not consent to any modification; in consequence of which some of the bishops took the oaths, and amongst others the Archbishop of Urbino, at which Pius was highly indignant: the others who still refused suffered the penalties.

With regard to accepting civil employments and offices, and the administering the sacraments to those who did so, the Pope had declared, that whoever accepted employments or offices which tended to the subversion of the laws of God and the church should incur ecclesiastical censures; but offices of a different nature might be accepted on obtaining a licence from the bishop. Napoleon, however, following the dictates of his inflexible and arbitrary self-will in preference to every other consideration, commanded the bishops publicly to declare, that it was permitted by the laws of the church to serve in any employment

or office, and that to every servant of th
they would administer the sacraments.
they refused obedience: they said, " th
Emperor declared his reasons for approp
the provinces, and the Pope his for wis
retain them; it was not for them to decid
momentous a contest; yet they could not
criminally declare every office and empl
to be legal without incurring an imputa
dishonour and prevarication. The adminis
of the sacraments, and especially of the abs
of sins, depended entirely on the superior
rity of the Pope, and if the subordinate
passed the limits prescribed by him, the
tion would be null and void: such assu
would be nugatory in a mere human ex
justice—it would be so in the sight of God.
were not opinions that admitted of contr
but incontrovertible dogmas—dogmas o
religion which, by the confession of the E
himself, prevailed throughout the realm o
That if the Pope had been despoiled
temporal dominions on the one hand, on th
his spiritual authority remained in all its c

integrity and plenitude. To him alone belonged the power of defining, in such matters, what was lawful or unlawful ; and of enlarging or restraining the jurisdiction of the inferior prelates. But although it would be schismatical and destructive of the Catholic unity publicly to contradict his judgment, they affirmed that they were ready to promote and to maintain by every means in their power the quiet of the state, without, however, wishing to arrogate to themselves a jurisdiction that did not belong to them, and which it would be at once sacrilegious and useless to attempt to exercise." Thus there arose in the four provinces a conflict between power and opinion : the arm of power was strong, opinion was inflexible. Distracted between conscience and interest, men knew not where to turn : a prison awaited him who resisted the brute force of arms ; malediction pursued him who offended opinion ;—discord, anguish, and perplexity prevailed on every side. Such was the condition of the Marches, once so prosperous and so happy, now prostrate in ruin and misery. As for the Pope—in protesting with so much energy against the usurpa-

tion of his sovereignty, he acted becomingly in other respects he would have done what he had imitated the prudence and the forbearance of Pius the Sixth, his glorious predecessor. The inflexibility that marked his conduct was of no avail when opposed to Napoleon; it exposed his subjects to innumerable calamities. It was his indispensable duty, as a sovereign, to protest against the usurper; and this was sufficient for the assertion of his rights; but to add, with mildness and gentleness the requisites of the oaths, was also the duty of a father towards his children.

The following solemn protest was published by Pius:—

“The decree published, as it asserts, the order of the Emperor Napoleon, which despoils us of the unconditional and sovereignty of the March of Ancona—sovereignty which, by universal consent, for more than ten centuries has been uninterruptedly enjoyed by our predecessors, has been issued not only against us, who for so many years have suffered so many afflictions, have been 1

by so many storms for the sake of Him whom we have embraced with the utmost benevolence, but also against the Roman church, against the Apostolic See, against the patrimony of the prince of the apostles. Nor can we say, whether in this decree the insult of the manner or the iniquity of the act be the greater. Certainly, if in so weighty a matter we were to keep silence, it would justly be imputed to us as a neglect of our apostolical duties, and a violation of our oaths. Further, if we call to mind the motives assigned for the decree, we perceive that we are still more forcibly impelled by duty to break silence, because they are injurious to our reputation, and impugn the purity and integrity of our councils. Insult and falsehood are added to injustice. That an unarmed and peaceful prince, who not only never gave any cause of complaint to any one, but moreover to this same Emperor of the French has always given so many proofs of regard, even to the injury of his own individual interests and those of his subjects, should be despoiled of his dominions for having believed that it was not lawful for him ~~to do this~~

orders of one who required him to abandon neutrality which he had observed with scrupulous good faith, and to enter into a league against those who had not in any way molested or injured him, must of itself be esteemed the greatest injustice. If, more than a temporal prince who was lord of an empire might have justifiable motives for refusing to join a league of offensive war, was there none such with respect to the supreme pontiff, the vicar on earth of the prime author of peace, obliged in virtue of his supreme apostolic office, to act as the common father of all, to have an equal love to all the faithful in Christ and an equal hatred against all the enemies of religion? The decree artfully passes over in silence the candidly and sincerely represented Emperor Napoleon, and which we so often repeated both by our letters and by the mouth of our legates, as to our duties and the dictates of our conscience on this point. But his justice proceeds yet further, since he reproaches us for declining this alliance, solely in order to avoid taking up arms against the English.

are excluded from the Catholic communion. This is an ingenious calumny: since he well knows (although he withholds the fact) how many times we have represented to him that we could not enter into a perpetual league, lest we should bind ourselves to wage war against as many Catholic princes as his pleasure might indicate, now and for ever. We complain of the deep and offensive insult he has committed in accusing us of rejecting the alliance, in order to leave the peninsula exposed to the attacks of the enemy. He knows—and we call to judge, and to give witness of it, on all Europe, which for so many years has seen the Italian shores occupied by French soldiers; he knows—and we call to judge and to give witness of it, on the Emperor himself, although he has concealed them—whether the conditions offered by us did not permit him to place garrisons of his own troops in all our ports, and on all our shores. There is in this silence still more ingratitude than falsity, since he is well aware what injury would redound to our subjects from the closing of the ports, and what ire it would excite against us in the breasts of his enemies. But if to palliate his

usurpation, he departs as much from justice, our astonishment is on the other side, that it should not have been in his mind to have alleged the donation of Charlemagne as a pretext. We cannot but wonder how the Emperor, after the lapse of ten centuries, could venture to revive, and to attribute to himself, the gift of Charlemagne, nor how the donation of Charlemagne can affect the dominion of the March of Ancona.

“Seeing then for the reasons before stated, it is clear and manifest, that an enormous wrong has been committed against the Roman Republic, that her rights have been violated by the decree of Napoleon, and that a yet more grievous wound has been inflicted on us and on the Republic. See, that it may not appear to posterity that we have merited by our silence the flagrant wrong which has thus been committed in defiance of every law of honour and rectitude, which will be to us an eternal disgrace, a cause of perpetual reproach and detestation; we, of our own free will—of our own certain knowledge—of our full power, solemnly declare, and in the

manner protest, that the occupation of the lands which are situated in the March of Ancona, and their annexation to the kingdom of Italy, without any right or any cause, by an edict of the Emperor Napoleon, being an unjust usurpation, is null and void. We declare, moreover, and protest, that every thing from this day forth which shall be done in virtue of the said decree will be null and void also ; and whatever act may be executed on the same lands by any person whatever from the present hour will be equally illegal. We further decree and declare, that even after a thousand years, that even as long as the world shall endure, whatever may be done there, whatever designs may be formed, no man shall by any treaty or agreement infringe our rights, either as regards the possession or the sovereignty of the said lands, because they are and ought to be, in full propriety, the possession of our holy Apostolic See."

Thus Pius, although in the power of his oppressor, remonstrated with Napoleon, and protested against him. And thus Napoleon, after having imprisoned the royal family of Spain, imprisoned the Pope also ; and after having

usurped the kingdom of Spain, also usurped territory of Rome. Precisely at this time Alexander left St. Petersburg, the seat of the Emperor, to visit him at Erfurth; and Francis too sent General St. Vincent to that city to pay his tribute of flattery to the Emperor of France.

CHAPTER VI.

War renewed with Austria.—The Archduke John Generalissimo of the Austrian forces, Prince Eugene, Viceroy and Generalissimo of the French forces in Italy.—Their manifestoes to the Italians.—The Archduke, successful at Sacile, advances towards Verona.—General rising of the Tyrolese against the French and Bavarians.—Character of Andrew Hoffer.—Peculiar nature of the Tyrolese war.—Austria totally defeated, first near Ratisbon, then at Wagram.—The Archduke retires from Italy.—Peace between France and Austria.—Marriage of the Archduchess Maria Louisa to Napoleon.—End of the Tyrolese war.—Death of Hoffer.—Napoleon unites Rome to France, and sends the Pope prisoner to Savona.—The Pope excommunicates him.—Description of Rome under the French, and the undertakings carried on there.—Explanation of the Propaganda.—Practises of Caroline of Sicily with Napoleon.—Unfortunate expedition of Joachim to Sicily.—General Manhes sent to reduce Calabria.—Succeeds, and by what means.

THE embers were yet glowing which were again to set Europe in flames. Austria, depressed by the conqueror, watched for an opportunity of rising against him in renewed vigour and endea-

voured to alleviate the sense of her present fortunes by her hopes for the future. But she was rendered uneasy by the peace of Fontenoy alone, which had so greatly diminished her power, but felt alarm also at the changes made by Napoleon, not only in other parts of Europe, but in the heart of Germany, and on the very frontiers of her own territory. She was as much alarmed by the secret proffers, as by the open attacks of Napoleon, for he had offered her an independent territory to arise from the destruction of a neighbouring and a friendly state, from which she feared that another change of circumstances, or a further alteration in his plans, might lead him to sacrifice her, too, in turn, to the domination of some other power; but the preponderance of Napoleon so greatly preponderated by the alliance of Prussia, and the friendship of Austria, that she had at that time no chance of saving herself. Resolving, therefore, to abide the progress of time, and to bear her present humiliation in silence, in order to avoid yet greater misfortunes, she delayed to act until the proceedings of Napoleon should open to her some effectual means of restraining his ambition.

securing her own safety. The iniquitous acts committed against the royal family of Spain, which had so strongly excited the indignation of the Spaniards, and which had obliged the master of France to send a numerous army to subdue them, seemed to afford the wished for opportunity, and one not to be neglected. Accordingly, the Emperor of Austria resolved to enter anew into the contest, undismayed at the prospect of conducting it without allies, and gave orders to arm and discipline the whole population of his dominions capable of bearing arms, and to furnish the artillery in the best manner, both as to the numbers and the choice of men to serve in it. Napoleon complained of these formidable preparations, affirming that he had no intention of quarrelling with the Emperor of Austria;—to which Francis replied, that his preparations were merely defensive. Napoleon then complained of the Austrian ministry, or of some military faction at Vienna, in the pay of England. He arrogantly reproached Francis, with the obligation he owed him for having preserved the integrity of the Austrian monarchy, when it was in his

power to have partitioned it. He ren professions of friendship, and exhorted desist from his warlike preparations. peror, however, would not consent to be self defenceless at the mercy of him fraudulently imprisoned the royal family. The confederation of the Rhine, the dissolution of the German empire, Vienna deprived of her strongest rampart by the subjection of Ferdinand driven from Naples, his throne occupied by one of the Napoleon family, He added, Parma added, Tuscany united to the empire, the occupation of papal Rome,—all these causes caused Austria to have recourse to arms, having no other alternative but war or submission. Opportunity alone had been wanting; the war, which occupied Napoleon, afforded Austria the opportunity she resolved to avail herself of it: foreseeing that this would be her last struggle, she made the most formidable preparations. A powerful army was commanded by the Archduke Charles of Austria, Germany, and was destined to invade Italy, which persevered in its alliance with Napoleon. If this first enterprise should succeed, it

intention of the Archduke to cross the Black Forest, and draw the campaign to the banks of the Rhine. In aid of this force, Bellegarde, an experienced commander, was stationed with a large body in Bohemia, ready to pour into Franconia, as soon as the occurrences of the war should require it. Great hopes had been formed by the Emperor Francis, from the rising of the Tyrolese, who were much attached to his name, and were desirous of shaking off the dominion of Bavaria. This movement was of the utmost importance, as well from the warlike nature of the people, as from the situation of the Tyrol, which kept open the road of communication between the two armies of Germany and Italy. In this great plan the affairs of Italy were carefully considered, and a numerous body of troops, chiefly cavalry, was sent thither under the Archduke John, a youth of mild disposition, and much esteemed by the Italians. John, who was at first encamped in the passes of Carniola and Carinthia, prepared to defile by Tarvisio and Ponteba, on the Venetian territories. Stationed on the extreme of the grand front, he co-operated in the general

plan, not only with the regular troops in command, but with the militia of the ducal states of Giulia Croatia, and in Carniola, provinces he had many dependencies. This formidable army was necessary to keep in check Marmont, who occupied Dalmatia with a detachment of troops. Considering that public opinion was the main sinew of war, Francis had stirred his subjects by every exciting motive—their country—their independence—their past miseries—their present unhappy condition—a cruel yoke prepared for the future, forcibly represented to them in his manifestoes. The Austrian name was again proclaimed, and the people voluntarily joined in the defence; bands of armed peasants were everywhere, every spot where their assistance was required: wonderful was the commotion, even had the fortunes of Austria seemed promising, for never had she made so formidable preparations.

Napoleon's forces might be considered superior, but certainly they were not superior. He refused to temporize, appealing to Ru-

guarantee for pacific measures. Ever skilful and astute, he was not to be deceived as to the intentions of the rival power, and being certified of her enmity, which seemed unalterable, he prepared for the contest by sending into Germany and Italy as many soldiers as he could spare from the war beyond the Pyrenees. Francis, however, who had long been providing for the campaign, was better armed and better prepared for combat. Napoleon resolved to conduct the campaign in Germany in person, because he knew that the fate of the war would be decided on the banks of the Danube, and knew also that he alone was able to compete as a general with the Archduke Charles. As to Italy, he gave the conduct of the war in that important quarter to Eugene, sending Macdonald with him as his adviser and counsellor. Napoleon's Italian army was stationed in Friuli, the front occupying the right towards the sea-shore, by Palmanova, Cividale, and Udine; and on the left extending towards mounts St. Daniel, Osopo, Gemona, Ospedaletto, and the Venetian Ponteba, as far as the road leading to Tarvisio. The other brigades were placed as

rear guards at Pordenone, Sacile, and Codogno on the banks of the Livenza. Another army, communicating in two different places, the first, principally composed of Italian soldiers by the kingdom of Italy, was stationed in the Paduan, the Trevisan, the Bassanese, and the Feltrinese territories. From Brescia and Mantua many fresh squadrons marched to augment the principal army. Italy and Germany, in great agitation, anticipated a change of fortune.

The Archduke Charles sent to inform the French general that it was his intention to force his passage against all obstacles. On the 9th of April, the Archduke John in the same manner proclaimed the war to Europe. He who, with the advanced guard, defeated the passes of the vale of Fella, by which the provinces of Tarvisio are commanded, and the passage to Italy in Carinthia is gained. The armies being now prepared for combat, manifestoes were issued forth. The Viceroy Eugene, addressing the people of the kingdom of Italy, declared, that the war had been sought by Austria alone. In a few hours he must be far from them on

to combat the enemies of his august father, the enemies of France, and of Italy. He trusted that they would preserve in his absence that excellent spirit of which they had given heretofore such signal proof, and that the magistrates would do their duty honestly, showing themselves at once worthy of their sovereign and of the Italian people. Wheresoever he himself might be, he should always feel for their unchangeable gratitude and indulgent affection."

On his side, too, the Archduke John, before he drew his sword, was not sparing of addresses to the army, hoping to excite throughout Italy movements of importance in his favour, from the differing opinions of the people.

"Hear!" he said, "Italians, hear! and engrave on your hearts what truth and reason demand of you. You are the slaves of France; for her your wealth, for her your lives, are sacrificed. The conscription, the heavy imposts, the oppressions you suffer under, sufficiently prove, that no political existence—no vestige of independence, is left to you. In such deep subjection you cannot be respected, you cannot enjoy tranquillity; nay,

you cannot even justly claim the name of
Would you assert your birthrights on
then with heart and hand join the
soldiers of the Emperor Francis. He
mighty army into Italy; yet he is not
thus to act by the desire of conquest
seeks his own safety—he seeks to re-
independence of so many European nations
servitude is as evident as it is cruel. I
but second the virtuous endeavours of
ror Francis and of his potent allies,
again be happy in herself—again be re-
others. The head of the church
possess his own states—be once more
liberty. A constitution suited to the
the Italian provinces, to their true poli-
will be given to promote their prosperi-
secure them from every insult inflicted
power. Francis promises you a happy
Europe knows his faith to be as immu-
is pure. Heaven, however, speaks to you
him. Hasten, Italians, hasten, whose
are, by whatever name you are called,
party you espouse, provided that you are

Italians, come without fear to us. It is not to demand what you have, but to succour you, to liberate you, that we have approached the Italian territory. Can you consent to remain as you now are, base and dishonoured? Will you be inferior to the Spaniards, a heroic people, whose deeds have been even more noble than their declarations? Do you love your children, your religion, your honour, and the glory of your nation less than the people of Spain? Do you feel less abhorrence of the shameful yoke those have imposed on you, who have deluded you by soft words, and have afflicted you by harsh deeds? Know, Italians, and be the truths we now declare engraved on your minds, that this is the last opportunity you will have of asserting your liberty, of freeing your necks from the heavy yoke which oppresses all Italy. If now you do not exert yourselves—if you still remain mere careless spectators, you run the risk, whichever of the two armies may obtain the victory, of being treated as a conquered people, without a name, without rights. If, on the contrary, with courageous hearts, you resolve to join the forces

of your liberators, and march on with victory, Italy will gain a new existence, obtain her proper rank amidst the kingdoms of the world, and will, perhaps, to be as she once was—the first of Italians! a happier lot than your present place in your hands—in those hands older times held on high the light of civilization, and of the arts; which rescued the world from barbarism, and rendered it mild, and polished. Milanese, Tuscans, Venetians, Italians of every race, reflect on your ancient glory. Such glory may yet return; they may even with greater prosperity, greater lustre prefer general co-operation to listless exertion. Your determination may ensure victory, and render you even more glorious than your ancestors were ever in the days of their splendour,”

In this manner did the Archduke Joseph stimulate the Italians, by representing that they need not despair of redeeming their country from an ignominious and perpetual

tude. But his exhortations produced little effect, because those who were armed were all, as soldiers, partisans of Napoleon, and those who were unarmed, although they hated the French domination, did not therefore approve of that of Austria; nor was it clear to them that victory to Austria would give liberty to Italy. They were alarmed, moreover, by the yet recent affair of Ulm ; nor did it appear that any differences were likely to arise between Napoleon and Alexander, from which alone well-founded hopes of success might have been formed.

On the 10th of April the weight of the German mass was precipitated on Italy. The Archduke having crossed the summits of the mountains at the pass of Tarvisio, and accomplished that of the Chiusa, drew near—though not without some difficulty from the resistance of the French, to the Tagliamento. He then passed the Isonzo with an abundant equipment of artillery and cavalry, and menaced with his whole force the front of Eugene's army. A fierce encounter took place at the bridge of Dignano, where Broussier fought valiantly ; but the Austrian force conti-

nually increasing on the lower ground had passed the Isonzo, Broussier, by the Viceroy, retired to the right; and increasing, the Prince repaired to Sacile. Livenza, in order to assemble all the squadrons at this spot, as well those who were stationed in the rear as those who were marching from the Visan and Paduan territory. The German Emperor laid siege to the fortresses of Osopo and Pordenone. Eugene having assembled all his forces, he ordered the divisions who were marching from the north of the kingdom of Italy and Tuscany, to attack the enemy before his main body joined by the other squadrons near Udine. This resolution of the Prince deserves to be blamed than praised; since, although he was not had not assembled all his forces, he was superior in numbers; and not only was the issue doubtful, but it was to be feared that the Austrians would have the advantage; were desirable for the Archduke, as commander of the greater force, to give battle, it was frequently the interest of the Prince to avoid action. In this case Eugene should rather have been guided by prudence than impelled by courage.

The French were disposed in the neighbourhood of Sacile, so that Seras and Severoli occupied the plain on the right, Grenier and Barbou in the centre, Broussier to the left. The infantry and cavalry of the Italian kingdom formed a great proportion of the right wing, which was the first engaged with the Germans: the action took place on the 16th of April. The village of Palsi was the scene of a severe contest, from whence both parties were several times driven, after having successively carried it. The valour of the Italian soldiers was conspicuous, notwithstanding that Palsi was finally taken by the Archduke. Already the Germans, who were formidable on their left from the great number of their cavalry, pressed on. The French right wing suffered severely; Seras and Severoli were hard pressed, and were exposed to such danger that they could scarcely have escaped entire discomfiture, if Barbou had not reinforced them from the centre. This succour giving fresh animation to Seras, he pushed forward with so much spirit, that, gaining possession of the field, he not only drove the enemy out of Palsi, but even from Porcia, where their chief station was

reinforcing his front with fresh troops, the enemy to give way, after having disordered some of their battalions and killed many of the leaders. The French cavalry suffered no division of Broussier also suffered; for, serving as a rear-guard to the broken and retreating squadrons, it had not the impetus of the victorious enemy. The approach of night had not stopped the French and Italians would have received a still more serious injury. In this affair of Sacile the Viceroy lost about 2,500 wounded, and prisoners; the Archduke not more than 500. After this unlucky encounter, the army was no longer a safe station for Eugene; he therefore retreated, and was but feebly pursued by the Germans, who are always tardy in following their advantages, and consequently did not profit by many favourable opportunities on the banks of the Adige. Here Eugene was aided by the division under Lamarque, which had been stationed in the Veronese, and by the division of Durutte from Tuscany. Nor was the battle of Macdonald of slight importance in

established. The Archduke having the centre of the French was the consequence of the detachment of Seras, now pressed down on it, and entirely broken it; but at this time Broussier joined the battle, and gave fresh courage to the troops who had been giving way: Barbou also defeated the enemy with great spirit. The Archduke committed his battalions. The engagement continued on the whole front: the combat was long and sanguinary; the Germans were superior in number and in steadiness, but excelling them in enthusiasm and courage. The recovery of Porcia was the object of the Austrians; but notwithstanding their efforts, this they were unable to achieve. In this obstinate combat the colonel Giffenga, who led a squadron of cavalry against the enemy, was highly distinguished. General Teste, an officer remarkable for his bravery, was seriously wounded. The battle lasted seven hours without success to either side, when at length

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reviving the spirits of the troops received him with apparent pleasure; however, was but ill satisfied on the whole, he knew that the credit of every success would be transferred from him to Napoleon. The Archduke crossed the Piave, the Brenta, and inundated the Paduan, Trevisan, and Vicentine districts; while, in the month of June, he attacked Palmanova, but with little success. With no greater success did he assault Mantua. With a large body of troops the fortifications of Mantua were in order to open the road to the Lombardy, and to Venice. Notwithstanding these failures, the French prepared to attack the enemy on the 17th of June, on the Adige, hoping to come out by Udine, and to reach the ancient dominion of his ancestors. He did not find in this conquered region the resources he had expected. There was a small town at Padua, but one of little importance. The inhabitants of Crespino, in the Polceina, unfortunately for themselves, rose in arms; but Napoleon returned victorious from Germany. The French were so strongly excited against the Austrians, that they placed them under martial law, and c

them to the punishment of the bastonade for the offence. They besought his pardon ; he replied, that pardon must be purchased by blood, and demanded four of their number as victims ; but through the mediation of the Viceroy, who strove to mollify the Emperor, two only were executed, and their lives purchased the indemnity of their country.

In the mean time the Archduke Charles having crossed the river Inn, occupied Bavaria, and with the main body marched towards the Rhine. Every thing at this period seemed to favour the fortunes of the Emperor Francis, and above all other circumstances the rising in the Tyrol. Great discontent had lurked in the minds of this brave and virtuous people : long accustomed to the mild sway of the house of Austria, they unwillingly endured the government of the Bavarians as an innovation, and which, if not by ancient habits, at least in the spirit of some recent acts, and perhaps also by the commands of Napoleon, was at that time rough and arbitrary. Besides, the King of Bavaria had abolished the ancient constitution of the Tyrol, reducing its political state to a mere

arbitrary government, even with res
imposts. They all agreed, therefore
cretly, and some openly, to support to
the cause of their ancient sovereign. .
encouraged these resolutions by sending
to the Tyrol, by the mountains of Salt
a body of regular troops.

The same day on which the Archduke
passed the Inn, and the Archduke John
of Tarvisio, the Tyrolese, impelled by
animated by one common zeal, rose
arms, and fell on the French and Bav
that were placed in garrison throug
country. They elected as their leader
Hofer, an innkeeper of Sand, in the va
seira. Hofer had no one pre-eminent
is, none such as the world prizes; bu
man of upright mind and incorrupt
Having lived always in the seclusion
rolese mountains, he was unacquaint
and its allurements. The most en
highly-gifted amongst the Parisians
lanese had been seduced by the flatteri
leon: Hofer, a poor inhabitant of the

preserved his integrity. Two pious affections generally accompany each other in men so situated—the love of God and of their country: both were powerfully felt by Andrew; for which reason the Tyrolese held him in singular affection and esteem. Devoid of ambition, he was solicited to exercise that authority which he did not seek. Of the mildest nature, he was never cruel in war, nor captious in peace, but was equally content whether serving his prince or his family. He saw the insolence of the conqueror, he saw the burning of peaceful cottages, he saw the cruel injuries, the slaughter of his kindred: yet his bland and equable temper suffered no change. Terrible in battle, merciful to the conquered, he allowed none whom the fate of war gave into his power to suffer death. The wounded he gave in charge to the Tyrolese women, who, both from humanity, and from respect to Hofer, rendered them every hospitable service. Napoleon devastated the country of others, unfeeling even to his friends—Hofer defended his own, gentle even towards those who were preparing for it desolation and death. Willingly do I leave the illustrious writers of our de-

graded age to praise the guilty deeds (erful; but I trust that it will not b me, to indulge myself, by recounting, low and humble style, the generous effo who were more favoured by virtue tl tune.

The whole Tyrolese nation, attach ancient prince and hating their new g women as well as men, the children an being organized and led on by Hofer, r and gathering from the most profound the steepest mountains, rushed with i petus against the Bavarians and th The former, overpowered by this popu at Sterching, at Inspruck, at Hall, an vent of San Carlo, were unable to effectual resistance; and having lost i bers in killed and wounded, they laid arms, and about ten thousand surrend victors. No better fortune attended an of three thousand French and Bava came to succour their comrades under t Wildau; each successive squadron t into these regions being overpowered

surgents. No place, no hour, was secure from their attacks; for on every side, by night or by day, the Tyrolese issuing from their hidden recesses, and passing by secret paths known only to those who were intimately acquainted with the country, subdued the unprepared Napoleonists by their rapid sorties. It was a singular and fearful warfare: together with the clangor of arms was mixed the sound of the church bells, which the hammer unceasingly struck, and the cry of the peasants, which knew no pause, calling incessantly on "*the name of God and the most holy Trinity.*" All these sounds, united and reverberated from the echoing mountains, produced an effect full of horror, of awe, and of devotion. It was the voice of a holy and an injured country.

Some with carbines pierced from afar the bodies of the invaders, some assailed them with stones, some crushed them with enormous masses hurled from the heights; Hofer with composed air, his firm and lofty stature towering above his followers, and distinguished from them by that alone, for his dress was in every respect like theirs, appeared now inciting their ardour against

the armed soldier, now restraining against the disarmed; at once the fiercest of those who resisted, and the generous of those who submitted. Wherever he appeared, unanimous became the unanimous the decision to spare. The authority of his name had greater influence than those martial spirits than habits of discipline, the dread of military punishment usual over organized troops. Children acted like the old with the energy of youth; women showed the courage of men, and the men became more just and honourable. The country was defended by a more unanimous and firmer.

A considerable number of the defeated were marched by the road of Saltzburgh to the heart of Austria, a grateful spectacle to Emperor Francis. The Tyrolese, victorious on the German soil, passed the heights of the Brenner and appeared on the Italian territory. Terror spread through the regions above Trent, alarm spread from valley to valley, from hill to hill, and Trent itself was in peril. It was, that by the time the Archduke

have reached the shores of the Adige, the Tyrolese might have been able to descend to support him in the rear. This movement would have produced results of the utmost consequence to all Italy. This was the design of the Austrian generals. The Emperor Francis, as well to aid the zeal of the insurgents, as to demonstrate that he had not forgotten a population so affectionately attached to him, sent Chasteler into the Tyrol (a general who for skill and courage ranked amongst the best of the age), that he might advise Hofer as to the conduct of the war. The Emperor had also sent, as we have already noticed, a body of regular troops, accustomed to mountain warfare, under Jellacheick, an expert commander, and one well acquainted with the country. At the sight of the first standards and troops of Austria, the Tyrolese were transported with joy: the Imperialists entered in triumph; such were the demonstrations of gladness with which the people surrounded them. The church bells rang peals of joy; the artillery and musketry saluted them in turn; the conquering multitude hailed them with shouts of applause, embracing them, and

proffering the daintiest viands their afforded for the refreshment of the A
diers.

Here ended the prosperity of Austria
very acmé of her best hopes, the fate
reached the German soil, raised his l
war, and in a few days gained the thre
tles of Taun, Abensberg, and Eck
these events the Archduke Charles was
to retire to the left of the Danube, th
open to Napoleon the road to Vienna o
Another momentous result proceeded
defeat of the Archduke, which was, 1
leon's advance on the road to Vien
necessary for the Archduke John to
from Italy, lest his retreat into Austria
cut off; and thus not only Italy itself
him, but the Tyrol. Thus the victor
by the Emperor of the French between
and Ratisbon reversed the condition o
The assailants were forced to defend th
those who had been attacked became in
assailants; Italy was lost to Austria, V
in danger, and no hope remained to

had provoked the war except in the resources Hungary, Moravia, and Bohemia might yet afford.

When the news of the discomfiture of his brother reached the Archduke John, he became aware that it was no longer advisable to trifle in Italy, and he had also orders from Vienna to the same effect, commanding him to hasten to the defence of the monarchy in its most vital parts. He, therefore, arranged his army, which had already advanced beyond Vicenza, for a retreat, determining to make no further resistance, except in some of the fortified places, in order to bring off his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; a difficult and dangerous operation, whilst so prompt and watchful an enemy was in front. The Archduke retired; Eugene pursued him; some delay arose at the Brenta, on account of the bridges being broken down. The Austrians halted on the banks of the Piave, resolving to contest the passage: they were in a strong position, extending on the right towards the bridge of Priuli, which the Archduke had purposely burnt, and on the left to Rocca di Strada, on the road leading to Conegliano. A numerous

train of artillery strengthened his front, occupied the eminences in face of the river, the low grounds were secured by some regiments of cavalry. The French prepared to attack Lovadina, which is the principal pass, although the Germans kept up a tremendous fire from the artillery on the heights, but they succeeded in this attempt. The Viceroy, with the greater part of the army, crossed the river below Lovadina, and immediately formed his troops in line, under the very line of fire of the enemy, who annoyed them also with frequent and unceasing charges of cavalry. The battle was equal, and was conducted with the greatest fury on both sides; the French striving to dislodge the Austrians from the heights, the Austrians endeavouring to force them back to the river. Neither the Prince nor the Emperor spared themselves in this terrible affair, exposed to fatigue or danger; now commanding, now combating like the common soldiers. The conflict took place between the heights of Conegliano. Deep ditches strengthened the Austrian front: the French charged the

Abbé on the right, Broussier in the centre, and Lamarque on the left ; Pully, Grouchy, and Giflenga, assisted their operations. After an obstinate contest, the Archduke was compelled to give way, and fortune declared herself in favour of the Prince. The mill of Capanna was yet to be gained, where the Germans obstinately defended themselves ; and Lamarque, aided by Darutte, rapidly passed over the fosses, and by a bayonet charge finally possessed himself of this strong position. The French were now every where masters of the field. The Austrians retired in some disorder to Conegliano, and then, as the enemy quickly followed up the pursuit, to Sacile. In this great battle, the Germans suffered severely, their losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounting to about ten thousand men ; and Generals Wolskell, Rissner, and Hager, were taken or killed ; they lost fifteen cannon, thirty chests, much ammunition and baggage. The loss of the French was about three thousand. The chief honour in this affair, on the part of the French, was due, after the Prince, to Dessaix and Pully. On the Austrian side, after the Archduke,

Wolskell most distinguished himself; a few days after of his wounds, to the regret of his companions, who justly held him as a brave and experienced general. The Archduke continued to retreat, and did not pursue him. Eugene effected the passage of the Livenza easily, that of the Tagliamento was difficult. He filled the plain and the valleys with his cavalry, and raised the siege of Palmanova. His army he divided into two, sending the first towards the pass of the Carnia in Carinthia; the second, under Masséna, towards Carniola. His intention was to enter Carinthia and Stiria; to drive the enemy into the recesses of Hungary; and so joining with Napoleon in Germany, to advance to Subiana, and thus co-operate with Marmonte, who was marching hastily from Dalmatia. Masséna succeeded in both its parts; for Dessaix, by keeping amongst the mountains, and cutting off the Germans through the valleys of Pontebasse, Fella, and Dogna, approached at last the summit that lies between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The first obstacles he countered were the fortresses of Mall

and Pradele. Seras endeavoured to bribe the commandant of Malborghetto to deliver up the fortress, but the German rejected the vile overture, and valiantly defended his trust: exhorting the garrison to fulfil their duty, and aid in the salvation of their country, he terminated an honourable life by a glorious death. I regret that I know not the name of this virtuous Austrian; for it would have been a satisfaction to me to have sent it down to posterity inscribed in this narrative. At length, however, Seras took the two fortresses. The Viceroy carried the pass of Tarvisio, entered victoriously into Carinthia, and marched towards Judenburg in Stiria. Jella-cheick, driven from the Tyrol by Marshal Lefevre, who had been sent there by Napoleon after the victory of Ratisbon, lost almost all his troops at St. Michael, in Stiria. Seras having passed the mountains of Sommering, and reaching Schottwein, formed a junction with the outposts of the French army of Germany.

Whilst these occurrences took place on the left of the Viceroy, Macdonald, passing by Manfalcone and Duino, had occupied Trieste; thence he had marched towards Carniola, in order to

take Lubiana, the capital, and to co-operate with Marmont. From Lubiana he intended to march by the high road to Gratz; and from that place he expected to be able to furnish supplies to Napoleon himself. The French army was still in great force. Napoleon found much difficulty in reducing Presburg by an assault both in front and rear, but he succeeded in taking it. By the same day he forced four thousand Austrians to surrender at Lubiana to surrender, and entered the city in triumph. After this glorious achievement he marched on to Gratz, having sufficient troops behind him to occupy Carniola: there he was to await the arrival of Marmont from Vienna. As soon as the latter heard that the Emperor John, constrained by the turn of affairs in Germany, had moved from the Vistula, to effect his retreat from Italy, he set out for Croatia, in order to co-operate with the French in more important objects. He, therefore, immediately left Zara, and defeating the German army, strove to contest the passes of the mountains of Gracazzo, he approached the town of

Gospizza, which was strong in point of situation, surrounded by many streams, and numerously garrisoned, chiefly by Croats. The contest was severe, not only in a regular battle which took place, but in partial actions between detached parties; finally, however, after much bloodshed, the French obtained the mastery. The victory of Gospizza opened the road to the French general, and he met with no further opposition with the exception of a single skirmish with the rear guard of the enemy at Otossa. He then successively occupied Segra and Fiume, and finding his countrymen in Istria, he reached Gratz by forced marches: in this manner the whole of ancient Illyria fell into the hands of the French. The Viceroy having only sufficient detachments to garrison the most important places, passed the mountains of Sommering with the main force: descending towards the Danube by the valley of Arabone, which the moderns call Raab, he hastened to participate in the enterprises of his father.

Napoleon's usual style of bombast appeared in the proclamation he addressed to the army of

the Viceroy: "Welcome soldiers of army! Surprised by a treacherous enemy, your columns were united, you retaken the shores of the Adige; but when I met your advance, and reminded you of the battle of Arcole, you gained twenty battles, took many prisoners, 600 cannon, and ten standards. The Save, nor the Drave, nor the Mulde defiles of Tarvisio, nor the steep summits of Sommering, arrested your progress. Jellacheick, the prime mover of the rebellion of our companions in the Tyrol, has fallen by the force of your bayonets. You have meted out speedy justice on the routed fragments of the army from the wrath of the grand army. You have done, and welcome are ye, soldiers, who have defeated, dispersed, annihilated the Austrian invaders of Italy, who, for a long space contaminated my provinces with their presence; and made them confess that it was our motto, '*God gave it me; woe to him who touches it.*' Soldiers! I am satisfied." At these arrogant words of Napoleon, the brave and temperate men shrugged their

and would, even from regard to his own greatness, have desired more moderation; but Napoleon knew not the greatness there is in modesty.

On the 14th of June, the anniversary of the victory of Marengo, Eugene Beauharnois gained a great battle under the walls of Raab, against the Archduke John, who was ascending the banks of the Danube, in aid of his brother Charles. This engagement was well and skilfully fought by the Viceroy; nor will I defraud the Archduke of his due meed of praise, who, in the midst of such great agitation, such fearful apprehensions, and such precipitous ruin to Austria, had preserved both his self-command and the discipline of his troops: he fought valiantly with the rear guard, kept the van guard in close order, and after so many combats, and a retreat over so great an extent of ground, re-appeared stronger than ever in the fields of Raab; and but for the celerity of the Viceroy's movements, he might, perhaps, have changed to triumphs the melancholy reverses of his august brother. I take delight in speaking of Eugene and of John, both

alike young ; and, if matched in years also equals in valour. But John, from his house, was more unassumingly spurred on by his father, was more the one worthy to defend his own country, other worthy to have been spared from the country of another.


On the 6th of July the Austrian army was on the field of Wagram : there was duke Charles overthrown. Napoleon master of this ancient and powerful empire. Peace is easily made when one party is defeated : the Emperor Francis accepted the conditions ; he even consented—the state overcoming all his other feelings—that his daughter Maria Louisa in marriage was the ruin of his house, and which during the war had heaped on him the opprobrious epithet. On the 14th of October the peace was concluded at Vienna, on the part of France by De Champagny, on that of Austria by Prince Lichtenstein. The Emperor Francis gave to the Emperor Napoleon, besides

districts in Germany and in Poland, the country of Goritz, the territory of Monfalcone, the country of Trieste, the Duchy of Carniola, with its dependencies in the Gulf of Trieste; the circle of Villaco, in Carinthia, especially a part of provincial Croatia, six districts of military Croatia and St. Veit, with all the other territories on the right of the Save, from the point where that river issues from Carniola till it reaches the frontiers of Bosnia, and the confines of Hungary; Austrian Istria, with the districts of Castua, Picino, Buccari, Buccarizza, Porto Re, Segua, with the islands dependent on the ceded territories, and all other dependencies situated on the right of the river, the course of whose stream was to mark the limits of the two states. Pardon was promised by Napoleon to the Tyrolese, and by Francis to the Poles. Austria agreed to give up all connection with England. Napoleon, always intent on destroying the reputation of his friends, in order afterwards to deprive them of their states, inserted a clause in the treaty by which Austria bound herself to cede to Alexander of Russia, who had been, in defiance of all prudence, ally

spectator of the war, a territory on side of ancient Galicia, containing 4 not, however, including the city of B ander consented to this clause, and spoils of his friend, who therein serious injury. Austria, being compe this stipulation by superior power, blame on that account. Posterity whether he who commanded the spo who consented to profit by it, merited condemnation. Such were the cons the war Austria had entered into, the immense preparations she had was the peace she was reduced to domination of Napoleon was now m than ever throughout Europe.

Austria, unnerved by misfortune, tranquilized by the peace; but her stillness of helpless suffering. Beside her power, she was goaded by the ins victor, and heavily oppressed by th contribution. The Tyrolese alone w general terror, and with arms in continued to defend that sovereign

thrown down his, and had yielded up many of the noblest parts of his own dominions and theirs also to the conqueror. Prince Eugene, from his quarters at Villaco, exhorted them, but in vain, to lay down their arms. Frequently engaged with the French, the Saxons, and the Bavarians, they were often successful, more often defeated, and as often rose again. If vanquished, they retired to their impenetrable woods and inaccessible mountains; if victors, they poured through the vallies and impetuously pursued the enemy. If defeated, they were cruelly treated by the foe; if successful, they treated them with humanity: as became a religious people, in their reverses they devoutly implored from Heaven a change of fortune, and in their hour of triumph, offered up their pious thanksgivings with equal fervour. After having by incredible valour defeated the troops of Lefevre, and restored to liberty those who had surrendered, they were seen, whilst their blood was yet flowing, whilst they were still surrounded by the lifeless bodies of their companions and their assailants, to throw themselves with one consent on their knees, at a signal given by



Hofer, and in this pious attitude, at ing and rejoicing, returned thanks to victory. The mountains re-echoed devout strains of joyful praise poured their religious and valiant breasts. fresh invaders continually replacing the Tyrolese, abandoned by all the with seemingly all the world in le them, lost not the will, but the power resistance, and taking refuge in the the mountains, awaited some occasion virtue might prevail against power.

Tyrol returned to the dominion of I Italian was ceded to the kingdom of I

At the end of the present year, A retired with all his family to a poor the hills and amidst the deepest snow for his country, but tranquil as fate. Napoleon, however, thirsted for He was, accordingly, sought after utmost diligence, till he was at last secret retreat. The Imperial soldier at his cottage door (it was the 27th of January, 1810); Hofer opened

seeing the force that surrounded it, he said simply, with unmoved composure—"I am Andrew Hofer; I am in the power of France; do with ~~me~~ as you will, but spare my wife and my children: they are innocent, they are not answerable for my actions." With these words he gave himself up to the soldiers. There was with him a young man in the flower of youth, the son of a physician at Gratz, who also yielded himself up at the same time, for he had dedicated himself to Hofer in life and death; such was the virtue of the Tyrolese. Conducted to Bolzano, his wife and one son, yet in his boyhood, accompanied him: the last separation was impending over them. The boy was left at Bolzano, the mother was sent to Passeira, to take charge of three other children still in infancy, whose father, now a prisoner, was soon to suffer death. Their tender age rendered them ignorant of their misfortunes, ~~—~~an unconsciousness on their part that so much the more excited compassion. Both in the German and the Italian Tyrol the afflicted populace ran in crowds wherever Hofer passed in bonds, raising their eyes to heaven in grief, weeping,

lamenting, and pouring forth bene their beloved and ill-fated chief. Mantua that the balls of the soldi the patriotic bosom of Andrew Ho his last moments showed himself intrepid but tranquil. The perverted niated him: he was called a brigand called an assassin; and, if praise be a virtue, the thought of the fate of Ho lamentable and disheartening.

On the signal defeat of Austria, threw aside all dissimulation, and as no further restraint. Long covetous the desire of appropriating the p returned to his mind with fresh force commencement of the war, Austria of liberating and restoring the Pop scorn of her fruitless promises, t Emperor took pleasure in dating fr itself the following decree of the 17 —“Considering that when his augu sor, Charlemagne, Emperor of the F sundry domains in gift to the Bisho he gave them as feudatories, mere

security of his subjects, without having, in so doing, separated Rome from his empire; considering also, that ever since that time, the union of the temporal and spiritual powers had been, and was still the occasion and source of continual discord, that the pontiffs had but too often used the one to support the pretences of the other, and that by these means those spiritual concerns which are of their own nature inherently immutable, being intermingled with temporal interests, became as changeable as the aspect of the times; considering, finally, that what he had proposed in order to conciliate the security of his troops, the peace and happiness of his people, the dignity and integrity of his empire, with the temporal pretensions of the sovereign Pontiff, had been proposed in vain; he resolved, willed, and commanded, that the states of the Pope should be and remain united to the French empire; that the city of Rome, the chief seat of Christianity, so full of illustrious recollections, should become a free and Imperial city, and have a peculiar form of government; that the monuments of Roman greatness, which still existed, should be preserved at the expense of

his Imperial treasury; that the of the Roman states should become of the empire; that the revenue of should be augmented to two francs, and be exempted from every tax and contribution. The property of the Holy Father were to be exempted from all taxes, jurisdiction, or visits, and from all further special immunities; and finally the extraordinary consulta should on the first of January of the possession of the states of the Pope, in the name of the Emperor, and should so provide for the government, according to the ordinance of the empire, should come into action on the 1st of January of 1810. Losing no time in this matter, on the very same day (the 17th of May) he issued the consulta, Miollis (who was also minister of the general and president), Saliceti, Degerando, Dalpozzo, and, as secretary, a Balbo, Count Balbo, of Turin.

In this manner Rome came into the power of Napoleon, and the popes, after a session of a thousand years, were dispossessed of their temporal dominion. At this

unprecedented act Pius raised his sacred voice in an energetic appeal to the world at large—"Thus then the dark machinations of the enemies of the Holy See have been successfully executed; and thus, after the violent and unjust invasion of the noblest and most considerable part of our dominions, we are despoiled, under unworthy pretences, with flagrant injustice, of our temporal sovereignty, with which our spiritual independence is closely conjoined. We are consoled and comforted in this barbarous persecution, by the reflection that we have not incurred this grievous calamity by any fault committed against the Emperor of the French, or against France, against that France which has always possessed our love, has always been the cherished object of our care; nor have we incurred this affliction by any intrigue of mundane policy; but it has fallen on us solely for having refused to renounce our duties, and betray our conscience. If the Catholic religion teaches that it is unlawful for any one to offend his God in order to satisfy man, would not such compliance be yet more criminal in him who is the head and the sovereign guide of the church?

Bound, moreover, in duty towards God and the church, to transmit all our rights and possessions entire and intact, we protest against a new and violent spoliation; we declare null and void the occupation recently made in our dominions; we refuse with firm and determined resolution, we reject every revenue which the Emperor of the French pretends to us, and to the members of our sacred hierarchy, for we should incur the stain of infamy and the opprobrium of the church, if we were to receive our food and our living from the hands of a usurper of our possessions. For the supply of our wants we will trust to Providence, we will leave to the piety of the faithful in Christ; we beg humbly to pass the remainder of a life so much pressed by so many sorrows, by so many afflictions. We prostrate ourselves with thanksgiving and humility before the throne of God, humbly submitting to his impenetrable decrees; we invoke his clemency and mercy in favour of our subjects, of those who were once our love and our glory, (having done as much in the present circumstances as duty enjoined) we now exhort to love

and to continue in the faith; and prostrating themselves between the threshold and the altar, and praying earnestly with sighs and tears and groans to implore the Supreme Father of Light, that he may deign to change the perverse councils of those from whom our persecutions have arisen."

The day after he had poured forth these lamentations from his paternal bosom, Pius fulminated his excommunication against the Emperor Napoleon, and against all those who had co-operated with him in the occupation of the states of the church, and especially of the city of Rome. He also issued an interdict against all bishops and prelates, whether secular or regular, who should not conform to his decrees concerning the oaths, and all public acts of adherence to the new government.

Having thus given sentence, he retired to the innermost recesses of his palace, in order to devote himself to prayer, and to await whatever his antagonists might prepare for him. He had the doors fastened, and built up the entrances of the Quirinal, so that they could not reach the inner apartments, nor approach his person without a

manifest violation of his domicile. The Napoleonists informed their master of the violation of the Pope, and of the interdict he was imposing, requesting orders how to proceed; he replied, "Let the Pope retract the excommunication and accept the two millions; if he refuses, arrest him, and conduct him to France." A harsh order was harshly executed. In the evening of the fifth of July, a troop of sbirri, accompanied by galley slaves, and with them—a circumstance scarcely credible—general officers and soldiers, proceeded to violate the pontifical residence. The sbirri and the ruffians who accompanied them scaled the wall at the battlement it was lowest, and, going in, opened the doors to the Napoleonists, part of whom were of the police and part of the regular army. To open the interior doors—they shook the doors on their hinges—they broke through the walls. A midnight clamour spread from chamber to chamber through the violated Quirinal. The light that partially dispersed the darkness of the interior by contrast but deepened the shadowy gloom of the palace, and lent additional horror

attack. Awaking from their peaceful slumbers at the terrific uproar of this unexpected tumult, the servants of the Pope trembled with fear. Pius alone showed himself unmoved. There was with him Cardinal Pacca, who was reserved for a yet severer destiny than the Pontiff, for having in affliction and in misfortune maintained his fidelity to his sovereign. They prayed together and interchanged consolations. And now the myrmidons of Napoleon, having burst open and thrown down all the doors, reached the apartment of the innocent and persecuted Pontiff. He hastily assumed the pontifical habit, desiring that they should testify to the world the violation, not only of his personal liberty, but of his office and his dignity. The general of the police forcibly entered the Pope's chamber ; he was accompanied by a man named Diana, who had narrowly escaped losing his head at Paris, for having engaged in a conspiracy against Napoleon with the sculptor Ceracchi, and who now not only was ready to serve Napoleon, but gave his aid to the most censurable act the Emperor had for a long time committed. Radet, recollecting the orders of the

Emperor, offered the Pope the alternative of accepting the revenue of two millions, or incurring the excommunication, or submitting to be carried as a captive to France. Pius refused the proffered revenue, not haughtily but with the calmness of his refusal showing even more strength of mind than the act itself. He told Radet that he freely pardoned the king for acting under the orders of another, and expressed his amazement that Diana, his own subjects, should presume to appear in his presence thus audaciously to outrage him, notwithstanding which he extended his pardon to him also.

The Pope, having pronounced his refusal, having solemnly protested against the demands of the French government, declaring them null and void, then said that he was at the disposal of what they might do with him as they would. "If exposed to torture or death, there is no man so innocent as should fear." And then he held in the one hand a crucifix, in the other a sword (the sole remains of all his greatness), and on whither they led him, surrounded by

rabble who had stormed his palace, and by the Imperial soldiers, who had not disdained to mingle with them. Radet requested him to give the names of such of his most faithful servants, as he wished to make the companions of his journey. He gave the list, but not one of them was conceded to him: Cardinal Bartolommeo Pacca was torn from his embrace. He was instantly conducted amid all this tumult to the carriage which stood prepared for that purpose; and was driven with extreme speed on the road to Tuscany, Radet alone being with him. Whilst these shameless proceedings were going on in the pontifical palace, Miollis, who had been ordered to watch the execution of the enterprise, remained in the garden of the constabulary (whether that spot had been chosen by accident or by design, I know not) to receive the reports of its progress, which were made to him from one minute to another: certainly, on such an occasion, the name of the constabulary palace had a fearful sound, as it recalled to mind the fate of Clement the Seventh. Miollis had not been without fear of some tumult; and therefore he had selected the night for the deed, had

commanded the utmost speed in its and had marched up a reinforcement of thousand soldiers to Rome to ensure it under pretence of sending them to upper

Amazement and horror prevailed at Rome, when, as the day broke, the enormity which had been committed was known. The captors hurried the Pope the utmost speed of post horses, to report; so much did the Imperial lords dread the re-action of religious feeling. The guards transmitted to each other from station the impotent captive, but powerless. As they dreaded some insurrection at the Levantine Riviera they embarked in a light skiff which had come from Tuscany. He inquired of his guard, whether it was the intention of the French government to keep him? he was answered in the negative. When they disembarked, they shut him up in the carriages prepared at Genoa, threatening the postillions with death, if they ceased to go. On reaching Alexandria they stopped to disguise themselves secure on account of the

of its garrison. They traversed Piedmont, with the celerity of winged flight: at Sant' Ambrosio di Susa the guard prepared the horses, in order to set out again with still greater velocity than they had arrived. Enfeebled by age, by misfortune, and by the speed of the journey, Pius asked whether Napoleon wished to receive him alive or dead? "Alive," replied Radet. "If so," added Pius, "I shall sleep to night at Sant' Ambrosio." To which proposal they were obliged to consent. They next passed over Mount Cenis. The Italian people not having been able, from the celerity of the Pope's passage, to show reverence to his presence, now that he was gone devoutly visited the places where he had paused, and where he had passed, esteeming them sacred from his misfortunes, from his dignity, from his sanctity. These were the seeds of Napoleon's destruction: already the prophecies of Pius were receiving confirmation, already the fulness of time drew on. The faithful Pacca was sent, as if he had been a malefactor, to the fortress of Pietracastello, near Belley, the fatal residence of every innocent man who incurred the displeasure of Napoleon.

The Pope was allowed to rest for some days at Grenoble, and then set forward ; yet, as there were no other road, he was taken by the French into Dauphiny, the place where Pius the Sixth died, an arrangement the more insulting and unnecessary. Through Avignon, then through Nice, they conducted him to France. Strange journey this, from Rome through Savona ! But his journey was conducted secretly as his capture had been made ; the few who actually saw the Pontiff, kept silent of it ; because few of the letters of private individuals, and none of the gazettes mentioned where he had been nor whither he had gone. The French honoured him with the same ceremonies the Italians had done ; the prefects of the departments treated him with reverence as if he were for such were the commands of Napoleon.

Napoleon, conqueror of Austria, returned to France to his Imperial seat at Fontainebleau. The Italian deputies, as had been commonly concerted, were already met to advise him. Moscati, Guicciardini, Testi, for the king of Italy ; Cardinal Fondari, archbishop

and grand almoner of the Princess Eliza, Alliata, archbishop of Pisa, a Chigi, à Lucci, a Mastiani, a Dupuy, a Benvenuti, a Tommaso Corsini, for Tuscany; the Duke of Braschi, Prince Gabrielli, Prince Spada, the Duke of Bracciano, the Chevalier Falconieri, Count Marescotti, the Marquis Salombri, the Marquis Travaglini, for Rome. Moscati addressed the Emperor to thank him for the laws he had bestowed; Fondari expressed the gratitude of Tuscany for the precious gift of the Princess Eliza.

The magniloquence of Rome was yet greater. Braschi, the orator of the city of the Seven Hills, spoke of the Scipios, of the Camilli, of the Cæsars, and of father Tiber. “There still remains,” said Braschi, in conclusion, (all nephew as he was of the persecuted Pius the Sixth)—“there still remains that capitol to which so many illustrious conquerors have ascended; it still exists, and shows to you, Sire, the glorious remains—a site worthy of your immortal name; there that laurel wreath which Nerva hung in the temple of Jove puts forth new verdure. Your protection alone can shield it from every hostile insult, as the

eagle of Trajan defended it from the aggression of the German, the Parthian, the Armenian, and the Dacian."

Braschi discoursed to the Emperor Napoleon of Cæsar, of Nerva, and of Trajan; he had well have alluded to some other Imperia, and that without offending Napoleon. He accused Tacitus of having calumniated Augustus. But why and how he thought of speaking of Camillus and of Scipio I cannot devise. Napoleon often said that the period of Roman history from Tarquin to Cæsar was empty, and that the true and legitimate times of Roman glory were those of the kings and of the emperors. In this spirit he called the son he afterwards had by Maria Louisa of Austria, not king of the Romans, but king of Rome.

To so great a pitch of folly had this man arrived, that, after having destroyed the modern republics, he would fain have destroyed even the ruins of the republics of antiquity. Yet the modern republicans had burned like fire for his cause, and had for him sustained innumerable wars. The kings of Europe were gratified

his hatred of the republics, and they fostered it, believing that he had joined their party at a moment when such aid was most opportune. But he tormented them by it, as the world knows, and as they quickly found; so that I have often laughed, and have still more often wept to think of it.

In his reply to the Romans, the Emperor exhorted them to reflect on the glorious exploits of their ancestors, and promised to pass the Alps in order to reside some time amongst them. "The French emperors, he said, his illustrious predecessors, had separated them from the empire, and had given them in fief to their bishops; but the good of his people no longer admitted of any division. France and Italy must be placed under the same laws, under the same sovereign: for the rest, they had need of powerful support, and such his arm could give, and such he would render for their advantage; nevertheless, he did not wish that any change should be made in the religion of their fathers. Himself the eldest son of the church, he wished not to leave her bosom. Jesus Christ had never deemed it neces-

sary to endow St. Peter with a temporary reign. The Roman See was the Christendom; the bishop of Rome spiritual head of the church; he himself Emperor; and he would have them render the things that were God's, and to Cæsar belonged to Cæsar."

I must now describe Rome as it was to the French. On entering upon the government the Roman Consulta gave their earnest attention to the security of the new order of things, and, seeing what discontents and hostile feelings were brooding, they thought it prudent to watch the most secret thoughts of the people; they organized a police; made Piranesi, a man well fitted for the office, the director general; Botoli, Courcier, Visconti, Delup-Verdun, Pesse, and others, men in whom the French had confidence, the sub-directors. So much for words and actions: to secure the inquisition of the most private nature, the inquisition employed by the Pope in the post-office was displaced, and their charge was given to the master-general of France. Nor was this

tendance merely nominal; for, with the most culpable treachery, letters were opened and read, particularly those addressed to Savona, where the Pope resided. Extreme rigour was displayed on this subject: the Dukes of Otranto and Rovigo down to their lowest agents, were busily employed in prying into the Roman letters; they read some that were harmless and trivial, others that were inimical to the new government, and some, too, that were ludicrous; for the wits of Rome, of whom there were many, notwithstanding the distresses of the times, sent to the post letters addressed to Savona, filled with rancour against the spies themselves, and against the vile system they pursued. It was necessary, in order to maintain tranquillity, that force should be added to secret intelligence; and as the French soldiers could not be everywhere, guards were organized under the name of metropolitan legions in Rome, and under that of provincial legions, in the provinces. Francis Marescotti, a man devoted to France, was at the head of the Roman legion.

These arrangements served to prevent political movements, but not to restrain men of evil

habits, who infested the Roman district the immediate neighbourhood of the city. To put an end to this, the territory was divided into two departments, one called the department of the Tiber, the other the department of the Campagna. To these two prefects were appointed, Olivette. Municipal officers were chosen from amongst men of honour, probity and intelligence. The Consulta acted promptly and wisely, and beneficially in every respect except in the vexatious arrangement of the police and the public revenue; to these they were inexorable. On account of the characteristic obstinacy of Napoleon never to be moved. The peculiar system which had been appointed by Sixtus for the good government of the city wards modified by Clement the Emperor had been charged with the administration of the communes, and some benefit had been derived to the public from their labours; but as the functions interfered with those of the municipal authorities, the order was now abolished. The Consulta, who substituted the French

municipal government. They called the municipal council the senate; and elected men bearing illustrious names to fill its seats—the Princes Doria, Albani, Chigi, Aldobrandini, Colonna, Barberini, the Dukes Altieri, Braschi, Cesarini, and Fiano. Braschi, in all things docile to the will of Napoleon, was appointed mayor, or, we should rather say, syndic, of Rome. Thus they proceeded, persuading themselves that the people would be satisfied with a syndic who was virtually French, and a senate which was nominally Roman. In the mean time soldiers were raised for foreign service, according to the French conscription laws, even in the “Free Imperial city of Rome.”* The civil and criminal codes of France were also introduced, and were promulgated by the Consulta, for persons and property, as well for the finance as for judicial ordinances. Bartolucci, a man of vast and profound understanding, possessing no common literary and legal knowledge, and deeply skilled in the science of state policy, was appointed president of the Court of

* So called by Napoleon, vide page 137.

Appeal. He understood the character of Napoleon, and predicted his inevitable ruin. As a councillor of state to Paris, he gave many practical proofs of the learning and sagacity which distinguished him.

The treasury was the first care of the government; and Janet, who conducted that department, retained the donative imports, which amounted to about a million and a half French francs on salt, which was computed at about a million francs, and the fees on mills, amounting to about a hundred thousand French francs. Between the salaries of the superior magistrates, the poverty of the people, and the universal debt, the produce of the taxes was insufficient to keep the political machine in motion. Miollis received fifteen thousand francs a month as governor-general, and ten thousand francs in addition as president of the tribunal of the Lemarrois, as commandant of the district of Lyons for his own salary fifteen thousand francs a month, and for the expences of his police establishment four thousand francs a month. Salicruti contented himself with being on an equality with his colleagues, and obtained four thousand francs a month.

impositions followed up the long course of misfortune which had afflicted Rome. However, the Consulta made a good use of another portion of the public treasure: they proposed to Napoleon; and he readily gave his consent, to grant an ample pension to the Duchess of Bourbon, of the house of Parma, and to Charles Emanuel, King of Sardinia, who lived at Rome, devoting themselves to religious exercises. This was a noble act, and one worthy of record in history.

The chief difficulties of the Roman government arose out of the state of ecclesiastical affairs. At the period of the union of the Marches to the kingdom of Italy, the Pope had prohibited the oaths; and at the moment of his departure from Rome he confirmed this prohibition for the Roman state. Napoleon on his side exacted the oaths, even from the clergy. The confusion and distress which were thus occasioned were indescribable. The principal difficulty lay in the oath of fidelity, for there was no question as to that of obedience. They objected to the word *fidelity*, conceiving it to imply their recognition of the Emperor Napoleon as their legitimate sovereign; which preten-

sion they deemed it impossible to acknowledge the Pope had not resigned his authority, could it be expected that private individuals devoted solely to the offices of religion, a part of whom were unacquainted with literature, and some even wholly ignorant, should investigate all the old records in order to determine for themselves, whether the donations of Charlemagne or of Pepin were valid, and whether they were absolute or conditional, and what arguments by which Napoleon impugned their validity were valid or invalid. They only knew this, that the Popes had been the sovereigns of Rome for more than ten centuries, and as such had been recognized by the whole world, and even by Napoleon himself. They knew also that the Pope had renounced his claims, but, on the contrary, he strongly protested against the usurpation.

Dalpozzo, a member of the Consulta, of great learning and of still greater ability, took to defend the oaths. According to his reasoning, "the divine law prescribes that the magistrates appointed by the law of the state, and this precept, he said, had no li-

except in cases where such things are required as are in themselves absolutely unlawful, and then the contrary is to be fully maintained.

“ The ecclesiastical authority has no power to alter or to diminish the obligations of a divine precept. It evidently therefore follows, that the sovereign is entitled to an oath of pure and simple obedience and fidelity, without any explicit restriction. The present sovereign of Rome pretended to prohibit from this time forth that oath, the formulary of which he had himself furnished. This certainly could not be esteemed a precept of the church, and even if it were, it could not oblige subjects to expose themselves to the indignation of their sovereign in order to observe it, nor to the penalties which the refusal of the oaths would entail; for the laws of the church, according to common rules, are not binding where serious inconvenience may be the result. But this prohibition was in fact a means devised by the dispossessed prince to promote mere human ends, its sole object being to disturb the new government in order to procure his own re-instatement. In this the Pope had not acted as became the head of

the church, nor as the vicar of H that his kingdom was not of this wor both by his precepts and his example that obedience is always to be rendered tuted authorities. Solely, therefore, f fusion which resulted from the union powers, spiritual and temporal, in on that enormous opinion arisen, which sent moment it was beyond measure in the good order and the peace of the rect. The formulary prescribed to the of the Roman state was the same w use in the Italian kingdom and thro whole extent of the French empire ; form more than forty millions of Cath took the oaths without hesitation required so to do. The formulary prescribed to bishops and curates had by the concordat between the French and Pius the Seventh. The doubts s the people, that whosoever vowed obed constitution of the empire affirmed approval of the law of divorce, and o insinuations, were unfounded. By the

of the empire were understood those political laws which regulate the form of government—laws which are always distinct from the civil statutes. Besides, divorce was not commanded by the civil law, but was only permitted to those who deemed it consonant with their religious principles. Already several bishops of the Roman state, and a great number of curates, of canons, and other ecclesiastics, and also of the civil magistrates, had given an example of submission and obedience which others would do well to follow. It was of consequence that the good effects of this example should be generally diffused: to this end, the government, he said, in conclusion, would make it their especial care that such ecclesiastics as had already conformed should be honoured with evident signs of favour and confidence.”

The principles of Dalpozzo, as to obedience, were irrefragable; and as the clergy did not hesitate to take the oath of submission to the new monarch, and moreover promised not to participate in any plot against him, a just and beneficent government should have contented

itself with this. But Napoleon insisted on an oath of fidelity: whether it were that that an oath of that nature implied a recognition of him as the legitimate ruler, and thus, in fact, as we have already understood, both by the governor who governed; or that he wished thus to make the disaffected discover themselves, and with a pretext for sending them far from where he thought that their presence was with danger to his domination. In this affair there was too much scrupulousness on one side, and too much rigour on the other. Nevertheless, the clergy might have understood the word fidelity as implying obedience; for thus had Pius the Sixth explained it in ninety-eight, declaring that Romans might lawfully swear fidelity to the government which had been created by the victors of his states, that is, by those whose jurisdiction was incompatible with temporal sovereignty. For the rest, we here intend to condemn those who, believing that they could not conscientiously

the required oath, preferred the alternative of exile or imprisonment. This point was attended with great difficulties, and the Consulta proceeded cautiously. In the work of separation they began by the bishops: some conformed, some refused. The conformists were the bishops of Perugia, Segni, and Aragni; the non-conformists those of Terracina, Sezze, Piperno, Ostia, Veletri, Amelia, Terni, Acquapendente, Nocera, Assisi, and Alatri. The bishop of Tivoli also took the oath; but, repenting of having done so, on St. Peter's day he went to the church of the Carmelites, in full pontifical state, and after the gospel made his recantation with many tears. The gendarmes arrested him, and imprisoned him in the Minerva.

Surrounded by the bayonets of Napoleon's armed police, the non-jurists were conducted, some to France, some to Turin, some to Piacenza, some to Fenestrella. Baccolo, a Venetian, Bishop of Famagosta, a man of great originality and facetious humour, and a devoted partisan of the Pope, was carried away from Rome as a non-juror. The police officers knew no peace as long as they had him in charge, because the more cheerless

his exile, and the greater his poverty; he laughed, and the more he ridiculed at last for very weariness they let him be a madman. But when at liberty, he was writing and saying such strange things at Milan, and at Venice, that the French were obliged to watch him very closely. Baccolo was an intolerable trouble to Napoleon, and gave them all employment; the Duke of Otranto down to the Duke of Olivetto, who had superseded Piramand, the simple mention of his name was sufficient to put them all on the alert.

As soon as the bishops were disposed, the canons were next required to take the oath. Janet hoped that they would make little difficulty on the subject, having rich benefices, and leading luxurious lives: many complied, and many refused. Of the two chapters of St. John and St. Peter's, at Rome, all refused, except the chapter of St. Peter's; but the canons of Tivoli and of Viterbo, with three exceptions only, conformed to the existing government. The chapter of Viterbo also conformed in the first instance.

instigation of that of Tivoli, but afterwards retracted. The canons of Canepina, and of Cori unanimously refused: the gendarmes had much on hand. Still greater difficulty existed as to the curates, especially those of Rome: they were men of blameless lives, and were of evident advantage to the people as well in temporal as in spiritual matters. The Consulta wisely recommended delay; but the pertinacity of Napoleon's character made him prefer resorting to any extreme rather than relax in the smallest degree from the resolutions he had adopted; and he commanded the Consulta to exact the oaths from all without exception. In the provinces most of the curates were recusants; and the police carried them off from their parishes. Of the Romans, the greater number resisted; three complied—those of Traspontina, of Santa Maria Del Carmine, without the Porta Portese, and of the Madonna Della Luce, in Trastevere. The recusants were carried away by force; or if sick, or too infirm for banishment, they were shut up in San Calisto; the conformists were proportionably favoured. The exile of the curates

occasioned lamentable effects ; for religion were interrupted for want of number of pastors. Napoleon, putting into the ecclesiastical field, remedied his own way : of his own proper he suppressed the bishoprics and the non-conforming bishops and parishes and added them, as he pleased, to benefices of the other party. In this he changed the limits of the spiritual jurisdiction he pleased, and granted it to whom he pleased. In the Roman state the convents both of monks and nuns were now suppressed ; foreigners were sent to their own country, and the natives were obliged to lay aside the habit. The monks were sent to expel the nuns, granting them twenty four hours' notice. The healthy were sent to their own homes and infirm were received in convents for that purpose. In these days the aspect of the country was truly pitiable ; the police carried off the bishops, and canons, and curates, young or old, healthy or infirm, from the country

and from Rome to exile ; the exiles and their families bewailing their separation in tears ; and the hills of Rome resounding with the lamentations, with the cries and sobs of the afflicted.

The Consulta laboured to console the desolated city ; this they strove to accomplish, now by an ordinance suited to the locality, now by one ill-fitted to its circumstances ; but on every occasion their intentions were upright and benevolent. They extended their cares to science, literature, agriculture, commerce, and the arts. They provided from the treasury the necessary instruments for the observatory of the Roman college. They finished the conductors of electricity for the church of St. Peter, which had been commenced by Pius ; they attended particularly to the alum works of Solfa, and the iron mines of Umbria, which had been neglected since the time of the civil war, although the iron is much more soft and pliable than that of the island of Elba. Skilful artificers were attracted by money : two Roman pupils were sent to the French school of the mines, two to the vete-

rinary school, two to that of arts and
These were seeds of useful knowledge
siastical Rome.

It was feared that the residence of the
in Italy, especially in Tuscany and in the
states, added to the vivacious charm of the
guage, so well adapted to the familiar use
would deteriorate from the correctness and
of the Italian tongue; a fear entirely groundless
because it would have been difficult to
what further corruption it could admit.
Napoleon, however, who, for I know no
strange caprice, had united Tuscany and
to France, and had made French the language
of all public acts, had, towards the end of
last year, granted premiums for the best
specimen of Italian composition. The Pope
of Rome, in order to co-operate in the views
of the Emperor, at the suggestion of Desgenettes,
granted an order to allow the use of the Italian
language in conjunction with the French in
public acts; a benevolent but an extraordinary
permission in Italy. The academy degli
was also arranged so as to promote the

of the language, granting premiums for the best compositions in prose or verse. This academy held its sittings on the Janiculum in the halls of St. Onofrio. The academy of St. Luke, placed by the advice of Degerando on a more magnificent scale than formerly, was an institution worthy of their ancient fame, and well adapted to the climate, to the disposition of the people, and to the usages of Rome. The Consulta gave it abundant resources, and the Emperor bestowed on it a more convenient edifice, and a donation of 100,000 francs.

Speaking of the encouragement granted to letters, I must not neglect to mention the bounty of the Consulta to the convent of St. Basil, at Grotta-Ferrata, the only remains of the ancient order of St. Basil, which, in the darkness of the middle ages, brought to Europe the knowledge of the Greek language, and with it introduced letters in general. These monks had preserved the Greek language and the Greek chaunt in their choir and liturgy. Every vestige of the Greek singing would have been lost if the order had been suppressed, and the monks, in conse-

quence, dispersed. The Emperor's prayer of the Consulta, and the choir preserved, notwithstanding which the became extinct; for the spirit of the age itself in far other things than monastic the Greek chaunt.

With the same benevolence the Court provided for the convent of the Camaldulenses of Monte Corona, reformed Benedictines of St Romuald. I shall here indulge some particulars of Monte Corona. wearied and agitated by the recital of acts of treachery, of spoliation, and may now repose awhile in this seat of tranquillity. The Camaldulenses have preserved the lapse of many centuries, the Romuald whole and uncorrupted. They were once both cenobites and eremites: as they live in solitude; as hermits, they themselves in manual labour, as well as natural as household, without any amongst themselves of fathers or of superiors or inferiors. They serve in turn, practise hospitality, exercise

Their life, even in the days of Napoleon, was peaceful and serene: devoted to God, devoted to their sovereign, devoted to the good of their fellow creatures, they spent their days in prayer, obedience, and charity. The convent, situated on the summit of a mountain, about fourteen miles from Perugia, is surrounded by a thick forest. What was once a desert the labours of the cenobites have converted into fertile fields; magnificent oaks grow spontaneously on their rugged summits, form vast woods, and afford noble timber for the largest ships. The convent is the example of virtue, the fountain of beneficence, the retreat of men disgusted by the impurities of the world, the hospital of the traveller. It is the model of piety, of the virtues of solitude, and of boundless beneficence. Though kingdoms were overthrown, though the inflamed passions of men spurned all control, though in their malignant hatred, one generation slaughtered another, yet amidst all this strife of cruelty and of ambition, the pious hermits of Monte Corona, calm, gentle, courteous, beneficent, held the even tenor of their way in

innocence and peace ; and if the at the Pope placed the continuance of t nity in doubt, it is deeply to be lament ambition of the times should at last ha even these sainted solitudes. The R sulta well deserved the benedictions of and the unfortunate, for having, at gation of Janet, preserved this pious re

I wish also, in some degree, to the order of the Propaganda : the Napoleon, delighting in such things t excite the mind of man, desired to Propaganda, since he had taken it in hands. Degerando, who loved lear favoured the progress of civilization, t his own immediate protection this true recital of whose proceedings w show that it has not deserved either t rated praises of fanatics, or the sarca of philosophers. This recital will fu another example of the grand conc Italian minds. The primary objec institution was to promote the prop the Catholic faith throughout the wh

yet their labours were not so entirely restricted to this end as to prevent their attending to the diffusion of letters, science, and civilization amongst the ignorant, the barbarous, and the savage. Thus religion and knowledge mutually assisted each other: religion was sometimes the precursor of civilization, and sometimes followed in her train. The order also was admirably calculated to aid in diplomatic and political arrangements; and it was this that chiefly recommended it to the favour of Napoleon; for in it one sole head governs and moves an infinite number of subaltern agents in all parts of the world. The expedient seemed opportune to Napoleon, who was not a man to neglect to profit by it; and as he had promoted the Catholic religion in order to gain the empire of France, he now desired to promote the Propaganda, in order to acquire that of the world at large. Degerando knew this, and wrote to him, saying, "that as far as politics are concerned, the Propaganda, bearing to distant regions with the seeds of our religion, and our manners, our opinions also, and the roots of

European ideas, the history of the
of reigns, some knowledge of
of our institutions; preparing men
events, which it belonged only to
of the Imperial mind to conceive
friends the more faithful as the men
bound by the bonds of morality
offering so many and such various
corresponding in countries in which
ment maintained no direct agent;
exact information of the nature of the
into which the missionaries alone
trate; finally, opening a way, almost
through which to convey, with the
civilization, the influence of a system
in its greatness, to embrace the world
—was an institution rather of unique
supreme importance.”

These things are of themselves
clear, and if some philosophers, especially
French, have attacked Rome for having
asserted, employed religion as a means
motivating political ends, it is evident
were not unwilling themselves to do

when France became mistress of her resources, which they inclined to direct to the same end.

Certain it is that Napoleon delighted in nothing more than in the Propaganda. With regard to the origin of this society, it was instituted by Gregory the Fifteenth, who committed it to the care of an assembly of four cardinals and a secretary ; and its office was to send missionaries to all parts of the world. Gregory endowed it with funds of its own, and, with an assignment on the apostolical chamber, granted it immunities and privileges, and desired that each cardinal, on his appointment, should pay a fee in aid of its disbursements. But Urban the Eighth, considering that if it was useful to send European missionaries to propagate the faith, it would be still more useful to send out natives of the countries to be converted, added to the institution the College of the Propaganda, in which are received and instructed, at the public expense, youths of distant and more especially of oriental nations, who, when grown to man's estate, return to their own countries to aid there the apostolical missionaries.

The number of the pupils general to about seventy. As the air of Rome with the Chinese, they were sent to a school and college founded for this purpose by Pope Innocent the Twelfth and other popes. The popes were liberal in their gifts to the Propaganda. The popes and individuals also enriched it with lands and legacies: Vives bestowed on it a palace in Rome; and Cardinal Borgia died at Lyons in 1801, bequeathed it his property. This order, destined for the propagation of the Gospel, consisted of three ranks: the first comprised the superiors, vicars, whether bishops or archbishops, who direct the effects of the mission, whose office it is to write the letters and the orders respecting the labours of the missionaries. Subordinate to the vicars were next the simple missionaries. The third rank was composed of those employed in schools, colleges, and monasteries: the fourth consisted of simple agents for administrative or economical purposes. The Propaganda directs its labours by appointing bishops and archbishops for the ancient churches, two

one for Syria, one for Chaldea; bishops and apostolical missionaries for the islands of the Archipelago, for Albania, Servia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Smyrna, Antioch, and Anticyra. It sent two bishops, apostolical vicars, to Constantinople, one for the Latin, the other for the Greek church. A great number were destined for Persia, Mogul, Malabar, for India beyond the Ganges, for the kingdoms of Siam, Java, and Pegu, for Cochin China and Tonquin China. Nor must we omit to mention the important missions sent by the Propaganda to the United States of America. Apostolical vicars and bishops were also sent to disseminate the doctrines of the gospel in those parts of Europe which have seceded from the church. These attempts and exertions on the part of the Catholic community, stimulated the Lutheran churches to endeavour also to propagate religion amongst nations yet barbarous and savage. They sent, therefore, the English especially, missionaries to the East Indies, and to the islands of the Pacific Ocean, by whose pious labours many tribes were brought

within the pale of civilization ; and mixed politics, as it is said, with th enterprises, it remains to be prov Russia and England have been e from this imputation. To aid the vicars, there were established at differ which were more frequent in propo numbers of the Catholic populati and curates ; these had permanen and regular flocks. The missionarie in rank, and their mandate compr provinces, now visiting one place, n as occasion required, but always in allotted districts. These mission generally elected from the secular cler were especially enjoined by the not to intermeddle, or on any pretext to interfere, in the temporal affair less in the politics of the countries were appointed to instruct. The taught the useful arts and the profi solely in order by them to influence

* That is, those of the Romish church who ar
monastic vows.

to fix the attention, and to gain the good will of the barbarian inhabitants of uncivilized regions. The missionaries are entirely subordinate to this society, and are supported from its funds. It had formed three schools in Egypt, four in Illyria, two in Albania, two in Transylvania, one at Constantinople, and several in European countries, not members of the Catholic communion. These colleges were maintained at the expense of the Propaganda; it also paid a thousand crowns yearly to the bishops of Ireland, in aid of the Catholic schools of that kingdom; and supported the Irish, Scotch, Greek, and Maronite colleges: finally, though every religious order had a separate college for its missionaries, yet these missionaries depended on the Propaganda, as to the scene and the nature of their labours. When their studies were accomplished, the pupils of the colleges were, according to merit, made bishops, prefects, curates, or simple missionaries. The agents or purveyors performed no religious office, but being distributed in the most convenient stations, attended to the transmission of letters and of the funds

necessary to keep in motion so vast
As for the supreme assembly, which
it consisted of five parts: the secret
the letters were written, and to this
the interpreters belonged; the archiv
hending the library and the mu
containing the rarest curiosities; t
office, celebrated for the beauty and tl
its types; and, finally, the college f
and the chamber of finance; in whic
kept the accounts of the society.
amounted to 33,396 Roman crow
which are equal to 78,660 fran
revenues had been derived from
the tributes paid by Naples and
by the religious orders, and, fina
fees received from newly appointe
But the universal ruin had fallen a
institution: some sources of revenue w
lost, and others flowed in feebly
and to complete its misfortunes the p
society at Rome was destroyed in
of 1800. When, therefore, Napoleo
session of Rome, the Propaganda e


in name. As the banks no longer made any returns, the chamber of finance was by an Imperial order sealed up, and the archives were carried to Paris. Degerando wished to place it on a footing that should enable it at once to recommence its payments. The Emperor himself had, by a *senatus consultum*, declared that he desired the conservation of the institution, and promised to endow it from the Imperial treasury. But diverted from such thoughts, first by the importance of his military cares, and afterwards by the disasters which occurred, he could neither effectually arrange the machine, nor excite that zeal by an appeal to mere political interests, which, from the love of religion, the exhortations of the popes, and ancient prepossessions, had animated the missionaries in the pontifical times; so that under Napoleon the society was of little utility either in religion or in politics. The ruins of the Propaganda palace alone remained to attest the grandeur of the ancient edifice, and the mad rage of the men who had destroyed it.

As the archives were carried to Paris, they

wished also to deprive Rome of the
of oriental types in the printing-
were those of the characters of the
eastern languages. The Imperial printer
demanded the matrices as well as the
order to supply the points that were
This would have been a serious loss
where the learning and the literature
had been cultivated as if in their
Degerando intreated either that the points
be cast at Rome from the matrices, or
those necessary for the altered points
sent to Paris. His petition was granted
and the papal city is indebted to him
conservation of a work of great importance
to learning and to literature.

The art of working in mosaic, which
the peculiar boast of Rome, was rapidly
for, on account of the misfortunes of
little was executed, and funds were wanted
the expenses of the materials and of
men. The principal manufacture, which
as a model to the others, belonged
basilica of St. Peter, and defrayed

expences by the profits of the labours of the establishment. But from the necessity of the times the profits becoming almost wholly suspended, not only was it impossible to continue the manufactory, but St. Peter's itself was threatened with danger from its want of adequate revenues. It was proposed to charge the Imperial treasury with its support; but lest Napoleon, who was not fond of granting money for speculations, should not agree to the proposal, the Consulta found it necessary to varnish over the matter a little, by saying that the mosaic art should no longer be employed entirely for the embellishment of St. Peter's, but when patronized by the greatest of monarchs, would adorn the palace of the prince, and the edifices of Imperial Paris. "What a noble idea would it not be," said the Consulta, "to immortalize in mosaic the picture of the coronation painted by David, and the other three which are about to be executed by that great artist!" Thus cajoled, Napoleon gave his consent, and paid the funds necessary. It remained, since they had thus provided for the expences of the work itself, that they should



provide also for the workmen. The factory being built against the hill on one part, and partly under ground, was in very unwholesome, and the air became unhealthy and frequently lost. Besides that the cases and shelves of the stores were kept were decayed, and which were brought there to be spoiled by the damp. Thus had a great deal of Cassinetti's been recently destroyed of every one. The Consuls decreed that they should remove them into the apartments of the holy office.

The Emperor having granted a two hundred thousand francs to the Roman the Consuls allotted it for the purchase of the best silk or wool: for the best for the best beavers: for the best perfume: the best glass, crystal, or paper: also to those who should cultivate the greatest of

* Can any circumstance more strongly mark of the times than such an appropriation of a large sum?

the best cotton; to the planter of the greatest number of olives; and to whomsoever should introduce the greatest number of useful plants. They also indulged in the whim of making sugar from grapes and the grain of Caffraria. But Pope Pius, who knew the character of his good Romans, shrugged his shoulders in ridicule, when he heard of these things in his prison at Savona, declaring that they might profitably foster in Rome the manufactures connected with the fine arts or with learning; but that it was time and labour lost to endeavour to encourage those of any other description, because the disposition of the people, their habits, and the climate, were alike unfitted to such pursuits.

The museums, which had been pillaged during the season of turbulence, were now preserved with care. Those precious master-pieces of art which adorned the convents,—and they were many and beautiful, were carefully guarded from injury. For this purpose a committee was created of intelligent men and enlightened judges: it consisted of the painter Lethier, Guattani,

De' Bonnefonde, the Abbate Fea, as the conservator of the Capitol.

Whilst thus furthering the progress of modern Rome, they turned their thoughts towards excavating the ancient city, such was the desire of the Consul, so potent and wealthy, was able to prosecute the work; and the funds for excavating promising sites were actually furnished. It was probable the undertaking would have produced great results, if the military operations which ensued had not frustrated the project.

Napoleon spoke of visiting Rome, but had no real intention of going there, and the expectation of his arrival produced the desired effect. The Consulta selected the palace as the residence of the Emperor—Castel Gandolfo for the country, the Quirinal for the city. The latter, grand and magnificent in itself, was as to its site, and making a noble approach on the side of the Strada Pia, was in every respect adapted for the Imperial court, and salubrity being both united. The planting of trees about this palace, as

avenues to it, especially at the Porta del Popolo, to come out at the Trinita del Monte; to remove the cemeteries beyond the walls, and to drain the marshes. Prony, a Frenchman, and Fossombroni, an Italian, both famed for skill in hydraulics (their science equalling their reputation), visited them, and consulted in concert as to the mode of draining them. They effected, however, but little, on account of the untoward aspect of the times; and if the Pontine marshes did not grow worse under the French government, they certainly did not improve.

Such was at this period the state of things at Rome: one sovereign a prisoner at Savona, another, all-powerful at Paris; affliction ruled the moment, bright expectations cheered the future. The state became, by a strange caprice, a province of France, and was unable either to preserve its own ordinances, or to adopt those of another realm; while, split into opposing parties, the city mourned and complained; nor could the Consulta, however incessant its labours, give consolation or comfort.

New, strange, and lamentable occurrences

recall me to the kingdom of Naples, and the domination of the English in Sicily, which was odious to Caroline of Naples, who wished to govern of herself alone. Having lost the hope of reconquering the kingdom on the English, she desired at least to be mistress of the island which yet remained to her. Napoleon understood the humours of men, and also, had penetrated the disposition of the Queen, and had, by his manœuvres, persuaded her that he was ready to second her intentions. A treaty was concluded between the Emperor and the Queen, by which it was agreed that the French should open the ports of Sicily to the vessels of Napoleon, and permit them to operate, provided they drove out the English. While these negotiations were pending, Napoleon was seized with the desire of conquering Sicily, hoping that the severity of Caroline's measures would procure him adherents among the Neapolitans, who would afford him effectual assistance when a favourable opportunity offered. French troops were already stationed at Palermo, and the Ultra, to which Napoleon, through

against the English, had consented, in order to prevent them making an attempt on Corfu. The Neapolitan army had marched to Calabria, and the coast from Scilla to Reggio was filled with soldiers; the naval forces of the kingdom likewise joined them, after having gallantly fought the English fleet, which, in order to prevent their passage, had attacked them in the gulf of Pizzo, at Cape Vaticano, and on the shores of Bagnara. All the communes on the Mediterranean shore were ordered to furnish armed vessels for the expedition against Sicily; and Murat, wishing to imitate at Scilla the proceedings of Napoleon at Boulogne, frequently embarked and disembarked the troops to make them expert in such operations. Every one thought that the attempt would be made; the majority trusting in the fortunes of Napoleon, and affirming that, after all, the strait of Messina was not more difficult to pass than the Rhine or the Danube; but, as the French troops were the chief hope of the expedition, Murat had entreated the Emperor to permit them to co-operate with the Neapolitans in the enterprize.

At this moment Napoleon was negotiating with the King of Naples and the Queen Caroline of Sicily; but, wrapping him in his usual ambiguities, his reply neither encouraged nor forbade the expedition: indifferent to the result, whether the movement should be completely successful, or merely productive at the moment, he sent no order to the King to co-operate in the attempt. Joachim, impelled by an ardent desire of acquiring glory, and persuading himself that he should be able to raise numerous partisans, and should easily excite a general insurrection, resolved to attempt for himself, relying solely on his own forces. Five thousand Neapolitans, of whom was the regiment of Reale, were assembled in the neighbourhood of Reggio and Pizzo on the night time, and sailed towards Sicily, intending to land between Scaletta and Taormina. At the same time Murat, standing in a state of dress, on the regal gondola, gave the signal for the embarkation of the French troops, and they were to join the expedition, although they were still better informed of the project than he was, that they did not dis-

the terra firma ; but they had consented to aid the enterprise by a little show of activity, and by these idle demonstrations. The Neapolitans, under the command of General Cavagniac, landed at the destined spot ; but no sooner had they set foot on the Sicilian shore, than, instead of uniting in some affair of importance, they dispersed for pillage. The peasants and militia seeing this, ran to arms in crowds, and easily overcame these disorderly and scattered soldiers. Those who were not killed were taken, and some of the captives fell a sacrifice to the infuriate rage of civil discord. On the report of the landing of the Neapolitans, the English hastened from the quarters at Messina ; but when they arrived, the victory had been gained : after this affair, which in some degree diminished his reputation, Joachim giving up the hopes he had conceived, though not without some complaints against Napoleon, withdrew his soldiers from the coast, and publicly announced the termination of the Sicilian expedition. This intelligence was but too true. Its effects, however, were visible in Calabria, where miserable vestiges of the

—where if the Neapolitans remained the destruction made in surrounding countries in passing through the centre of nine provinces and of wine and vice, and these were the only things possessed, thus the kingdom was left almost without the comforts of life.

During this time the regent, Napoleon and Caroline could not get from the knowledge of the fact they even intercepted some letters which indicated proofs of the intrigue, upon Caroline became so odious & especially to Lord William Bentinck sent to Sicily, to secure the Emperor in the island, that in order to have all share in the management they confined her to a villa a few miles from Palermo, and shortly after obliged Sicily altogether—a singular occurrence shall be related in its own place.

When the troops were withdrawn from Sicily, a new army from

places in swarms, and made the whole country one scene of pillage and murder ; no road, however remote, no secluded hamlet, or detached field, was now secure. Divided into bands, each under the conduct of its own chief, they had portioned out the country amongst themselves. Carmine Antonio, and Mescio, with their followers, infested Mormanno and Castrovillari ; Benincasa, Nierello, Parafante, and Gosia, the district of Nicastro, and the hamlets of Cosenza ; Boja, Jacento Antonio, and Tiriola, Serra Stretta, and Catanzaro ; Paonese, Marotta, and Bizzarro, the shores of the two seas and the extremities of Calabria Ultra. Bizzarro, especially, for a long time spread terror through the forest of Golano, and the roads from Seminara to Scilla. These were the consequences of ancient habits of ferocity, and of existing civil broils. It was feared that the political chiefs adverse to the government, the Carbonari especially, and their adherents, would again rise in arms, and occasion a serious insurrection. It was known that the Carbonari, always inimical to France, although for the moment quiet, would promote, not pillage

and assassinations, which, on the one hand, he strove to prevent, but on the other, he used his authority in order to turn them, when opposed to the nation they so keenly felt, to the advantage of the nation. When, therefore, the necessity became necessary, therefore, from the necessity of the situation, for Murat to effect the pacification of this pestilent brood of malefactors, and to extinguish this troublesome sect of Carbonari, attempts had been made in the time of Ferdinand, and many also in the reign of Joachim, but always fruitlessly, not so much from the want of the mal-contents, as from the want of firm and feeble measures. To effect this, it was necessary to invest with authority a man who could prove himself formidable towards evil doers. General Pepe, aide-de-camp of Murat, had displayed great energy in the pacification of the Kingdom, and appeared to the King to be an excellent man for accomplishing the yet more difficult task of quieting Calabria. He therefore was invested with authority to do whatever he thought proper. Agreeable in countenance,

manner, Manhes was not deficient in talent, but of a rigid and inflexible disposition; nor could Joachim have chosen any instrument more fitted to accomplish the end he had in view. Manhes reached Calabria, bearing in mind only the end he had to accomplish; and, provided the country were quieted, he cared little what means it might be necessary to employ. His mind was filled with the resolution to accomplish his task; and he did accomplish it, opposing ferocity by ferocity, cruelty by cruelty, stratagem by stratagem. If these means were generally necessary to bring back men to sanity, as they undoubtedly were in Calabria, I should despair of the human race. In the first place, Manhes was convinced, that to act in detail would have frustrated his design, because the brigands fled from the places where the most rigorous measures were pursued to those where the authorities were more remiss in their proceedings; and thus alternately driven away and returning, they were always re-appearing. Secondly, he suspected that even the most wealthy amongst the proprietors, and the barons themselves who lived on their lands,


intimidated by the fear of robbery or assassination
 found shelter in this barbarous crew.
 In some towns it might, they were not
 if their secret hiding-places, all endeavours
 to subvert them would be vain: besides
 exposed inhabitants of the country, no
 protection against them gave them no
 shelter in their houses: and thus between
 for subsistence, and now hiding in secret
 now flying by secret paths, it was impossible
 surprise them. Manhes perceived, therefore,
 some extraordinary methods were necessary
 order to protect the well-disposed, and
 the brigands, as the existing arrangements
 insufficient. From this state of things, he
 that the severity of the judges would be
 at once, by the fears the brigands had
 and the injuries they had committed
 against steel, and fire against fire, were
 to cure this pestilence; and the remedy
 and sword was applied by Manhes. To
 plish this end, he adopted four measures.
 was furnished with an exact return of the
 factors, commune by commune, he

them entirely from the well-disposed, furnished the latter with arms, and appointed inflexible judges. Whoever takes an interest in observing the conduct of state policy will perceive in the proceedings of this prudent and rigid Frenchman, that the means he employed all squared with the end he proposed, and that he was not led astray by the chimeras and abstract notions which were characteristic of the age. He commanded every commune to furnish a list of the brigands who had belonged to it; he placed arms in the hands of the landholders, dividing them into bands. The husbandmen and the cattle were sent to the largest towns, which were guarded by regular troops; he suspended all agricultural labours, and decreed the punishment of death against whosoever should be found with provisions in the country, unless enrolled in the bands he had appointed. He sent forth armed bodies of proprietors, commune by commune, with an intimation that they were expected to bring in the brigands. Nothing was seen in the woods, on the mountains, and the plains, except civic bands hunting down the brigands, and

1. The first step in the process of the
 2. is to determine the nature of the
 3. and the extent of the damage.
 4. This is done by a thorough inspection
 5. of the property and the surrounding
 6. area. The inspector will look for
 7. signs of water damage, such as
 8. staining, discoloration, and
 9. peeling paint. He will also check
 10. for any structural damage, such as
 11. cracks in the walls or ceiling.
 12. Once the damage has been identified,
 13. the next step is to determine the
 14. cause of the damage. This is done
 15. by a thorough investigation of the
 16. property and the surrounding area.
 17. The investigator will look for
 18. signs of water damage, such as
 19. staining, discoloration, and
 20. peeling paint. He will also check
 21. for any structural damage, such as
 22. cracks in the walls or ceiling.
 23. Once the cause of the damage has
 24. been determined, the next step is
 25. to develop a plan of action. This
 26. plan will outline the steps that
 27. need to be taken to repair the
 28. damage and prevent it from
 29. happening again. The plan will
 30. also specify the materials and
 31. labor that will be required.
 32. Once the plan of action has been
 33. developed, the next step is to
 34. implement the plan. This involves
 35. hiring a contractor to perform the
 36. repairs and ensuring that the work
 37. is done to the highest quality.
 38. Finally, the last step in the
 39. process is to evaluate the results
 40. of the repairs. This is done by
 41. a thorough inspection of the
 42. property and the surrounding area.
 43. The inspector will look for signs
 44. of water damage, such as staining,
 45. discoloration, and peeling paint.
 46. He will also check for any
 47. structural damage, such as cracks
 48. in the walls or ceiling. If the
 49. damage has been repaired properly,
 50. the inspector will issue a
 51. certificate of completion. If not,
 52. the inspector will recommend
 53. further repairs.

The progress in the [redacted]

from hunger in the deserted fields and woods, or fell in fierce combats with the civic guards, or, preferring speedy death to long-sustained anguish, slew themselves with their own hands, or yielded themselves up to the tribunals as a voluntary prey to those who thirsted for their blood. In whatever manner taken, they were conducted before extraordinary tribunals, composed of the intendants of provinces, and of the royal advocates; they were separated into various classes, and thence sent to the military commissions, created for the purpose by Manhes; they were hanged on gibbets, or suffocated with noisome exhalations in horrible dungeons. Ferocious wretches were they, who merited death, and deserved no pity. But not malefactors alone were put to death, but those also who favoured them, rich as well as poor; for if Manhes was inexorable, he was also incorruptible. Through the machinations, however, of those whose nature differed from his own, amidst many just punishments, some iniquitous acts were committed; and deeds of malice were perpetrated which I shudder to relate. Some innocent



brigands flying before their pursuers orders of Manhes were harshly executed. subalterns seconded his endeavours always with that just inflexibility which he showed him, but too often with capriciousness. Infamous acts of cruelty were committed. A woman, who, ignorant of the recent events, was taken when carrying the accuser to her son, who was labouring in the stocks, sentenced to be hanged. A young man, cruelly tormented, because letters were found on her, addressed to suspected men, was put to death. The blood of the Carbonari spared : their chief, betrayed to the troops by a friend, was slain ; a curate and his nephew, who had entered into the sect, were put to death. An uncle witnessing the execution of his nephew. Though I have already narrated so many things, my mind recoils from the task of describing the cruelties that were practised against the people. The Carbonari, terrified at the power made of them, retired to the most remote mountains.

The brigands, in the mean time, either

from hunger in the deserted fields and woods, or fell in fierce combats with the civic guards, or, preferring speedy death to long-sustained anguish, slew themselves with their own hands, or yielded themselves up to the tribunals as a voluntary prey to those who thirsted for their blood. In whatever manner taken, they were conducted before extraordinary tribunals, composed of the intendants of provinces, and of the royal advocates; they were separated into various classes, and thence sent to the military commissions, created for the purpose by Manhes; they were hanged on gibbets, or suffocated with noisome exhalations in horrible dungeons. Fero- cious wretches were they, who merited death, and deserved no pity. But not malefactors alone were put to death, but those also who favoured them, rich as well as poor; for if Manhes was inexorable, he was also incorruptible. Through the machinations, however, of those whose nature differed from his own, amidst many just punishments, some iniquitous acts were committed; and deeds of malice were perpetrated which I shudder to relate. Some innocent

own flesh with their nails and teeth. of Castrovillari became a loathsome trefied carcasses; and the noxious mia ing beyond its fatal walls, was for a perceptible. The heads and limbs of had been hanged, were stuck on regular distances, and for a long t character of horror to the road fr to Naples. The course of the river long marked by piles of mutilated banks were then white, and remain even yet, with disgusting masses of bones. Thus the greater terror of lesser; and Calabria, a circumstance credible, was rendered secure not of inhabitants but for travellers: the opened to commerce, the labours of were resumed, the country changed aspect for an appearance of civilization stood in need of such purgation effected it; and in that province his be for ever loaded by some with by others with benedictions.

CHAPTER VII.

Pius the Seventh a prisoner at Savona.—How treated.—His discussions with Napoleon concerning the execution of the Concordat and the institution of Bishops.—Reasons adduced by both parties for and against the power of the Roman Pontiffs to delegate spiritual authority.—The Pope shows himself not unwilling to institute the nominated Bishops at the end of six months, or to permit it to be done in his name by the metropolitans, excepting only from this concession the suburban bishops.—Council of Paris.—Brief of the 20th of September.—The Pope persists in refusing to resign his temporal sovereignty.—Threats used to intimidate him.—He is conducted from Savona to Fontainebleau.

By the concordat, Napoleon had confirmed his power. This measure had at once satisfied the wishes of the people, and enabled him to employ the authority of the clergy to restrain the philosophical party, who were ill pleased by his immoderate desire of power. Nor had he found any want of pliancy in the matter he had to

work upon ; the ecclesiastics not on his call, but offered themselves up being excited to this by a sincere love many more by the promptings of the hope of reward : nothing now to dominate over the Romish religion the depression of the pontifical authority he ardently desired, for he was or not brook the existence of any power come in competition with his own purpose, having occupied the Mar approached the pontifical seat ; under pretence of the affairs of Naples showing themselves to the dismay For the same purpose he had occupied itself, and had carried the Pope Savona, an unworthy return, certainly the benefits Pius had conferred. C concurred to favour his designs : he the most considerable prelates by favour, he easily perceived that if merely employed the Pope against Royal and Voltaire, he might now prelates against the Pope himself

even beyond this; and already was it proposed that at the side of the high altar of such churches as were embellished with pictures, his image should be exposed for the adoration of the faithful. Where such power and greatness were combined, it seemed but a small step from the imprisonment of the pontiff to the extinction of the pontificate—from the subversion of the popedom to the creation of an universal autocrat. Freed from every fear by the triumphs the Danube had witnessed, he prepared himself for this new and perilous empire. The customs of Russia and of England came to his recollection, and he thought it a grievous hardship that he should not be what George and Alexander were. But he did not consider that the spirit of Catholicism is inflexible and unconquerable, and that it is yet more impossible to change than to extinguish it. According to the belief of the greater part of the faithful, the papal ordinances are inherent in the constitution of the Catholic religion, or, rather, the vitality of her inmost viscera.

The captive Pope reached Savona on the 15th

of August, 1809 ; whether by chance or purposely on this day the reader may judge was the fête of Napoleon. On this day he was lodged in the house of one Sanfelice of the city. The people crowded from all parts to behold the pontiff. Though the police, however, observed with suspicion whether from fear or from a different sentiment, the multitude was here less and less fanatical—for thus they termed the demonstrations of affection towards the pope as they were in France, and that the captive Pope did not in the least show obedience to the government. The council discussed at length the expediency of permitting the Pope to be seen in public, to officiate in the church, or to bestow the benediction. They feared the open expression of indignation if the pontiff were seen as a prisoner, and they dreaded secret dissatisfaction still more dangerous, if he were to be secluded. The opinion of those who favoured his appearing prevailed, for the territory was strongly garrisoned with soldiers,

of spies was yet more numerous, and the castle was near at hand to secure the prisoner from any attempt of the people in his favour. Until an express order should arrive from Napoleon, any audience with the Pope was forbidden, and no one was permitted to speak to him except in the presence of his guards. Shortly after, Prince Borghese, the governor of Piedmont and Liguria, received an order from Paris, instructing him to surround with soldiers the new palace of the prefecture, to which the Pope had been removed, closing all the entrances but one, and permitting none to visit it except the customary inmates. The Pope therefore held no audiences; whatever was done in his private apartments was watched by the inferior, and doubly watched by the superior spies, and men who were devoted to the Emperor were secretly placed amongst his servants and secretaries. Napoleon further commanded, through the medium of one Vincent, the superintendant of the Italian police at Paris, that whosoever visited the Pope should be narrowly watched, and that all the letters Pius received, all that he wrote, and all that were

written by any of his suite, should be sent to the minister-general of police.

Lastly, Prince Borghese and the sup- Vincent commanded that the person should be entirely free; and this, if in meaning, will, to whomsoever has con- preceding regulations, express nothing that he should not be bound with cords. no Cardinal, except Spina, was per- reside at Savona; and, as they dre- secret consistory, Spina himself was not to speak to the Pope except in presence of his guards, nor was he even suffered to have certain delicacies for his table without licence from the government. An individual in the service of the Pope, named Spina, was sent untried to the secret prison, where he wrote a note with some lead taken from a window. The Pope hesitated to name those persons he wished to have in his suite, who were related to do so by those who had the power to coerce the faithless as well as the faithful. He feared that his regard might expose to persecution those he esteemed; nor was

groundless. Notwithstanding this, he named the prelate Doria Panfili, grand chamberlain ; Soglia, chaplain ; Porta, his physician ; Ceccarmi, his surgeon ; Moiraghi and Morelli, chamberlains in ordinary ; one Campa, flower boy ; and some others of inferior degree.

The Pope lived with great simplicity in his Savonese prison, nor did he ever display the least irritation, although he had so many just causes of complaint. He received with pleasure Count Chabrol, the prefect of Montenotte, because the Count showed him great courtesy, tempering, by the gentleness of the means he adopted, the harshness of the acts his Imperial master commanded. His courtesy and humanity were not, however, suffered to pass without severe reproofs from Paris. The Pope was invited to amuse himself by making excursions into the country around Savona (with an escort of guards, of course, understood) ; but he replied that he could know no enjoyment whilst the church was in affliction. The Emperor sent Count Sarmatoris, of Cherasco, to Savona, with a commission to superintend the Pope's household, for the purpose

of placing the arrangements of his table and furniture of his palace on a scale of splendour and magnificence, taking care at the same time to surround himself with a suite of livery servants and domestics of peculiar service. I know not what epithet to give to this Imperial mockery of an imprisoned pontiff; neither can I understand why Count Sarmatoris, who was a wise and sensible man, should have accepted the charge of his education. He presented himself before the emperor with all the courteous flatteries, and made the most humble proffers, expressing a hope, that as he had approved his services at Paris, he should be pleasing to him even at Savona. I replied, that the times were changed; that as a sovereign prince, exterior pomps were necessary to his situation; now, as a captive, he must leave them to him to lay such things aside: absent from his own capital, in a foreign country, surrounded by armed guards, deprived of his most valued friends and faithful servants and counsellors, he was but a prisoner—as a prisoner alone he must consider himself—as a prisoner would be treated. When the chains which confin-

person were unloosed—when he was replaced in his pontifical seat—when his cardinals were restored to him, then would he accept regal honours. Other things would be provided by the faithful; God himself, who never abandons his servants, would provide for his wants. This declaration, but in stronger language, as being addressed to a soldier, he repeated to General Cesar Berthier, who had been sent by Napoleon to Savona, in order to give the aid of arms to the labours of the spies.

I must here indulge in enlarging on the sentiments of the imprisoned Pope. Hugh Maret had endeavoured to intimidate him by angry declarations from Paris: he had ordered his satellites “to make the Pope and his attendants fully understand, that when that excommunication was issued, the evident intention of which was to excite the people to rebellion, and to raise the knife of the assassin to the breast of the Emperor, the pontifical government had done its worst, and had exhausted all its weapons. They were to be made aware of the consequences of that article of the treaty of peace with the Emperor

the Emperor Napoleon did not come to an agreement with the Holy See, the world saw how much Pope Pius could effect. He gave no further explanation of his designs, but his last words kept the palaces of St. Cloud and the Tuilleries in constant expectation. The courts commended themselves anew to the Pope's protection and urged their utmost vigilance.

Nor did the Pope discontinue these exertions, or from withholding his dissent to the measures which the potentates of Europe had taken. He expressed his persuasion, that the true view was not to separate temporal from spiritual concerns, but to effect the ruin of the one by the means of the other; that of this the European powers would find cause to repent; that the experiments had already proved the ruin of those who had made them, especially of France. "As head and supreme ruler of the Church and spiritual matters, he ought not, and could not, remain inactive under existing circumstances; his duty as well as his inclination required him to use the whole weight of his pontifical authority against such pernicious designs;

hopes in God, who would supply the deficiencies of his weakness. He proceeded to explain that sovereigns are elected by the people, and that after their election they hold their power from God. The privilege which bishops and popes once possessed of placing the crown, in the ceremony of the coronation, on the head of a sovereign, had been misinterpreted; for this ceremony meant nothing more, except that after the election made by men, the power came from God himself: he alone it was who, by the hands of his ministers, gave the crown to sovereigns." Such were the doctrines of the Roman school, explained, subsequent to the celebrated Gravina, by Spedalieri. The pontiff farther expressed his conviction, "that as things here below are continually exceeding their just limits, as times and customs are continually altering and shifting, reform and change become frequently necessary. Rome had ever shown the utmost pliability, consenting willingly to necessary reforms: he only objected to rash and desultory resolutions, requiring a prudent and deliberate mode of proceeding. Thus Austria, after having

times past, both bishops and popes subjects from their oaths; but sovereigns had been deposed by the nobles of the realm, so that the deposition was nothing more than the consequence of deposition ordained by those who possessed right. The deposition, therefore, did not proceed from the dispensation, but the dispensation was the work of the temporal power. Then coming to the example of Pius the Sixth, he expressed his opinion saying that the tempest had fallen upon that excellent pontiff, when he was paralytic, and had no longer any strength; for the weakness of his body resembling death, rather than life) but to the readiness of his intellect: but to the conduct of his whole life, it was doubted that he would have reformed the innovations Napoleon had made in ecclesiastical affairs, and his recent usurpation of the patrimony of St. Peter, even more than his successor had done. It was said that Clement the Seventh had been harsh

but that was a persecution which had quickly come to an end; and the very people who had persecuted him, and chased him away from his papal seat, had humbled themselves before him, and besought his forgiveness. Their actions had responded to their words, for he was quickly restored to his apostolical chair. Napoleon, on the contrary, obstinately persisting in his system of persecution and violence, not only made no demonstration of any intention to retract what he had done to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or of restoring the patrimony of St. Peter which he had usurped, but pertinaciously affirmed, and openly declared, that he would of himself alone, without the intervention of the pontifical authority, change the sees and parishes, violate the privileges of the pontificate as to the nomination of the bishops, and keep enslaved Rome in his own hands."

Then, resorting to the example of Pius the Sixth, "he observed that he had had to do with the Directory, which not being of the Catholic church, neither obeyed nor acknowledged its laws; but that he, Pius the Seventh, con-

tended with the Emperor Napoleon character of the eldest son of the he still assumed, and of which he subjected to all its rules and laws any of his predecessors been restraints in which he was placed. patrimony of St. Peter, he had sworn it even to the shedding of blood, he had determined to fulfil. The decreed that whoever injured or said patrimony, incontinently incurred ecclesiastical censures: the Emperor Napoleon confessed himself subject to them if he professed the Catholic faith; and in imposing these censures, he (Pius) had performed a duty which the ecclesiastical laws by the universal church, had commonly ought he to have acted as if but it was impossible for him to do otherwise. Much did he grieve at the innermost recesses of his paternal heart that the measures which had been taken tended to the injury of France, his daughter, towards whom his love

so abundantly; yet she would judge which was to be preferred, a Pope faithless to his vows, or one who strictly obeyed the dictates of his conscience; an innocent and oppressed Pontiff, or a guilty and prevaricating Emperor: no man could hesitate in his decision. He yet recollected with infinite joy the grateful welcome, the affectionate concourse of the people, when he had visited that noble realm, in order to discharge an office that had then portended any thing but ruin. He remembered how, amidst the immense array of arms and soldiers, a humble defenceless priest had found place through the influence of French piety, solely because the Catholic community was represented in his person. He remembered, that where the first potentates of Europe hastened to present themselves, if not actually as suppliants, at least as humble inferiors, opinion alone, founded on the universal consent of the nations devoted to God, devoted to his vicar on earth, devoted to the Apostolic See, had exercised such influence, that he, powerless amongst the most potent of the earth, had obtained the first and the most honourable

place. Might honour, might contentment, felicity, then, be the portion of France herself, mindful of her piety, he had done and would have consented to even what was absolutely impossible, in order to enjoy that peace of conscience which he had justly deserved."

Napoleon, whose wont it was to succeed afterwards to win or force consent, that the *Senatus-consultum* of the Roman state to his empire should be put into effect by the consent of the Pope. He knew that if the pontiff were to refuse the proposed conditions, making himself a prisoner of Paris and his pensioner, he would have been obliged in the end to consent to what he chose as to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, because, as the power of the pontiff was now on opinion alone, whenever it should fall in public estimation, it would lose its support: and certainly Pius would in so doing have degraded himself, if, instead of appearing with splendour as a sovereign at Rome, or as a prisoner at Savona, he had co-

reside as a subject at Paris. On this account, therefore, the Imperial agents laboured incessantly by the most pressing solicitations to persuade him to renounce his temporal power, to accept the two millions, and inhabit the archiepiscopal palace at Paris. At this period the power of Napoleon certainly seemed immovable. The peace of Tilsit—his marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa—his victorious, invincible, and innumerable army, appeared to afford it an unassailable foundation. No hope of recovering his lost power remained to the Pope: he knew it, he declared it, he believed it; yet conscience triumphed. Pius rejected the Imperial proffers. He affirmed, that “ he was well aware of the machinations that were in progress—that he had penetrated their designs even at the period when he went to Paris to crown Napoleon; that even then the mischief was brooding; even then were they preparing the archiepiscopal palace for the residence of the popes. He had clearly seen that even then the idea had been conceived of making the popes vagrants, and perhaps of making them also the first almoners of the

emperors. Popes of France, and Christendom, were desired. He pro the Parisian palace; it would be prison. Not the temporal power, himself, had fixed his seat at Rome had shown by visiting the ever to city; he had shown it by dwelling had shown it by his martyrdom;— the apostle had indicated and had apostolical seat. His successor Pius that or none; nor ever would he give to undoing that which Christ the Redeemer self had done, through the instrument of his servant Peter. He would neither oath, nor accept of a pension: he considered it vile in his own eyes, vile to the world to make the one, or receive the other. A *Senatus-consultum* was the church they were endeavouring to execute the nations of the philosophers, and to reduce the Pope to the same state of subordination the bishops were reduced in France. Evidently aimed at the overthrow of the empire. Not being able to make the attack

front, they assailed her in flank. Never were the priests of paganism so dependent on the temporal power, as the christian priests of the present day: they now sought to place the yoke on the neck of the Pope also. He presumed that such designs did not proceed from the ecclesiastical council assembled at Paris; because, if that were the case, he would quickly separate it from his communion. In the midst of such convulsions he trusted that God would grant salvation to his church. Finally, he would no longer acknowledge as his eldest son the usurper of the possessions of the Holy See. Already had he suffered too much—already was his patience despised. The Roman See could not act as other potentates did. Temporal powers, according to circumstances, could resign a part of their rights in the hope of regaining them when opportunity offered; but the popes acted in obedience to conscience alone. The treaties of spiritual Rome were sacred, and were full of good faith.”

Thus did Pius the Seventh, when tormented by the solicitations of the instruments of Napoleon, express his dissent. The records of the

age have left no doubt as to what he desired further to do in times so disordered. His resolution was to demand unceasing satisfaction of the temporal possessions of the See, but never to do any thing which might lead towards recovering them by force: he desired only to be set at liberty, and free to return to fulfil the papal function itself. There he would fulfil them in a grotto, even in the catacombs: if it was necessary to undergo the poverty and simplicity of the primitive church, he would submit to both in perfect resignation; nor would it even be a hardship to him who never was so happy as when simply an observer of the doctrines he had taught the doctrines of the humble cloister."

Thus did the mind of the Pope settle itself, as to his own individual fate; and he deplored the revived spirit of innovation, he deplored it principally as lacerating the bowels, the very vitals of Catholicism. He deplored it as impeding the return of dissenters to the faith, which he

hoped, believing that some of the countries addicted to the doctrines of Luther were about to return to the bosom of the church. Of the Calvinists alone, who had wished to introduce democratical ordinances into the ecclesiastical government, had he despaired, reputed them the most hardened in heresy.

Such were at this period the tribulations of Pius the Seventh ; but the time was fast approaching in which his virtue was to be exposed to yet severer trials. Hitherto they had endeavoured to terrify him with soldiers—to watch him by spies—to intimidate him by seclusion—to agitate him by threats, and next, they assaulted him by the arguments and the persuasions of those who they believed were most likely to influence his deliberations, either from his regard for ancient friendship, or his respect for the character with which they were invested. The number of sees, which the Pope had for several years refused to fill up, had caused a deficiency in the number of the bishops, which was beginning to be severely felt throughout the Catholic communion, the condition of the dioceses growing

daily worse. In consequence of the bull of investiture, many sees in France, as well as in Italy and other vacancies were daily occurring, the episcopal order was in danger. The Emperor having by the concord confirmed to the Romish doctrines, and recurring to the pontifical authority, mined, in the first instance, to the influence of Cardinal Caprara, Ambassador at Milan and Legate of the Holy See, whose pliability he well knew. He wrote to the Pope, to beseech him to issue bulls for the vacant sees to the bishops by the Imperial ministers; adding, that he consented to the entire omission of the clause 'in proprio', or some other equivalent.

The Pope replied, "that he was as Caprara could propose measures to him, evident that he could not reconcile them. Never had the apostolical clergy admitted proposals from the laity. In future would the bulls be conceded, if he

to the instances of the ministers? Were not they the Emperor himself, the organs of his decrees, the instruments of his power? After so many fatal innovations in religion made by the Emperor, of which he had so often and so uselessly complained; after the vexations to which so many of the ecclesiastics of the pontifical state had been subjected; after the exile of the bishops, and the major part of the cardinals; after the imprisonment of Cardinal Pacca, after the usurpation of the patrimony of St. Peter; after having been himself attacked by armed men in the very *penetralia* of the pontifical palace; after having been conducted by force under a strict guard from one territory to another, in such a manner that the bishops of various places could not approach him, or speak to him, except in the presence of witnesses; after so many sacrilegious acts, passing, for the sake of brevity, over an infinite number, against which the general councils and the apostolical constitutions fulminated anathemas; what else could he have done except to conform himself, as was his duty, to the decrees of those councils, to the objects of

those constitutions? How then acknowledge in the author of the right of nominating the consent that he should use it? act thus without making himself a liar, without contradicting his own declarations, without giving scandal to the faithful, and cause to believe that he, who was once so brave and subdued by misfortune, he is now so abject as to be capable of betraying his country, and of doing that which he had formerly condemned? The Cardinal should ponder on these things in the spirit of mere human weakness, and not in the spirit of a traitor in the sanctuary; then would he see how true, how incontrovertible the principles called God to witness, how much of this cruel tempest he desired to see the church of France,—of his best beloved, his supreme deliverance. How much pleasure would he adopt if he should permit him at once to resign his office, and his inviolable duties. If he act alone, how could he de-

selling, in an affair of such importance? He had been deprived of all his counsellors, deprived of the power of communicating with them; not one was left to him with whom he could consult in so thorny a matter. If the Emperor were truly affectionate towards the Catholic church, he would begin by a reconciliation with its head; he would do away the fatal innovations; restore to the Pope his liberty, his throne, and his officers; he would restore to him, not *his* possessions, but the patrimony of St. Peter; he would restore to the church of the apostle, that pastor of whom she had been widowed from the days of the Savonese captivity; he would send him back the forty cardinals, torn from his bosom by his harsh commands; he would recall the exiled bishops to their diocese. As for himself, amidst all his great tribulations, he would earnestly and incessantly pray for the author of all their evils, beseeching the mercy of that God who holds all hearts in his hand; he would implore him to inspire the hard heart of Napoleon with better councils: but if by the secret decrees of Him who is omniscient and omni-

potent, it were otherwise ordered weep for the misfortunes of the certain that none could impute blame

During this time Napoleon, in intimidate the Pope, and to make his wishes, from the fear that if he would act for himself, had convened a conciliar council at Paris, summoned Cardinals Fesch and Maury, the archbishop of Tours, the bishops of Nantes, of Evreux, of Vercelli; and Emery, the superior of the seminary of St. Sulpice, at Paris; Bigot de Preameneu, the chief magistrate, a man of benevolent and moderate character, who, notwithstanding, acted with warmth in this affair against the Emperor proposed to them certain questions which they were to disclose their opinions on; the greater part, if not all of these propositions were adverse to the doctrines of Port-fortune, and the ambition of Napoleon brought them to the distressing alternative of either giving sentence against the Emperor or in conformity to the doctrines of

school, or incurring the displeasure of the Emperor. One only reply ought they to have given, which was, that if he replaced the Pope in the situation in which he was when the concordat was signed, and that if Pius then refused to grant the bulls, they would thereupon declare their opinions: but this they did not do; for these were not the times of St. Ambrose. Certainly, if the Pope ought to be secured against princes in matters religious and spiritual, princes ought to be secured against the Pope in matters temporal and political. This was the end for which the Pope was required to grant the bulls of investiture in a given time, excepting such canonical impediments as might be objected to in the nominated bishops; but the imprisonment of the Pope rendered all negotiation impossible; and Napoleon desired not only to be independent himself, but also to dominate over others. The questions proposed to the ecclesiastical council were as follows:—
“ Was the head of the church invested with despotic authority? Could the Pope, from temporal reasons, refuse his intervention in

spiritual affairs? Was it becoming, and theologians chosen in the same manner as the Roman territory, should judge of the universal church? Was it not that the Consistory, the peculiar council of the Pope, should be composed of prelates of all nations? If not, the Emperor had in his own person all the rights which had appertained to the kings of France, of Brabant, and the kings of Sicily, and dukes of Tuscany, and others. Had not Napoleon or his ministers violated the concordat? Had they improved or not the condition of the clergy since the concordat? If the sovereign of France had not violated the concordat, could the Pope capriciously withhold the investiture to the nominated bishops and archbishops, and thus suffer religion to languish in France, as he had done in Germany, where the sees had been vacant for ten years? If the government of France, not having violated the concordat, if the Pope, on his part, executed it, the intention of the Emperor would be to consider it as abrogated; but in this

was it best to do for the benefit of religion?" To these demands, which especially regarded France and Italy, another was added for Germany; "the Emperor Napoleon, as being the most potent of Christian princes, the sovereign of Germany, the heir of Charlemagne, the Emperor of the west, the eldest son of the church, desiring to know what it was advisable for him to do for the benefit of religion in that part of Europe? Tuscany also requires a new division of dioceses; and if the Pope refuses to give his co-operation, what measures ought the Emperor to take?"

"Lastly, the bull of excommunication had been printed and distributed throughout Europe. What measures was the Emperor to take in order to prevent the popes in times of disturbance and calamity from going into similar excesses, which were so contrary to the spirit of christian charity, to the honour and the independence of the throne?"

In the mean time Napoleon, constrained by necessity—for the vacancy of the sees began to disturb the consciences of the devout, resolved,

by the advice of those who were employed in the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs, he sought a remedy, which it was thought would be time to await a definitive arrangement from the Holy See. He had heard that on the death of the bishop, the episcopal jurisdiction was devolved to the chapter of the cathedral, and that it appertained to the chapter to appoint a vicar general to rule the diocese during the vacancy of the bishopric. Napoleon was further informed that by the ancient usages of France, the power on which, by the bishop's death, his power had devolved, could confer power on whomsoever the sovereign might choose for the vacant see. This last expedient was suggested to him by the ecclesiastical council, and at the same time the council had taken the same proposition by declaring that the expedient should only be temporary, and ought to be adopted only in the last extremity; that solely to prevent the episcopal order from becoming extinct in France, ought the chapters to delegate the power to the nominees; and that necessity required they should return to more usual me-

although these nominated and delegated bishops had power to rule the dioceses, they could not exercise all the plenitude of the episcopal authority; for if they had the jurisdiction they had not the ordination;—that the instituted bishops could perform certain functions which the delegated bishops could not, although the salvation of the faithful and the full and perfect government of the dioceses required in them the full episcopal authority. Finally, it was not becoming that the bishops should long continue to govern the dioceses as simple delegates of the chapters; greater dignity—greater independence was required by the bishops, ere the proper fruits could be received from their ministry.”

This condition, that the bishops should act as delegates certainly militated against the inclinations of Napoleon’s arbitrary character; for he wished that the heads in every branch of administration should be masters, not servants. Nevertheless, he deemed it important to gain time, and therefore he resolved to avail himself of the medium proposed by the ecclesiastical government until more favourable news should

reach him from Savona. There France and in French Italy, dioc been long vacant, and which were vicars of the chapters. It was these vicars to resign, in order that they should delegate the episcopal appointments of the Emperor, as to be two delegates. The Emperor endeavoured to effect this, and in circumstances of no small importance had nominated the prelate Dejeu of one of his ministers, to the bishopric in Piedmont; the vicars of the chapter refused, however, to resign. At this opposition, Napoleon determined that the number of the canons should be reduced, and that the benefices of the suppressed chapters should be confiscated, and their suppression executed as an act of high treason. Preameneu intimated further that the Emperor had determined to confiscate the bishoprics in which the seeds of rebellion were still to be found. Napoleon had nominated Ossi of Nancy, a man of dignified manners,

polished eloquence, to the see of Florence ; but the Pope wrote an imperative order to the vicars not to resign, declaring Osmond illegitimate by the canons. The natural consequences followed : Osmond could never live in peace at Florence.

Napoleon was destined by Heaven to suffer the mortification of having his peace disturbed in the very capital of his empire, by the prisoner of Savona. He had nominated Cardinal Maury archbishop of Paris, in lieu of Cardinal Fesch, who had been also nominated, but would not accept that see ; and, charmed with the splendour of the see of Paris, Maury accepted the appointment. The Holy Father received advice of this from Cardinal Dipietro, who, though exiled to Samur, had arranged an admirable police of his own. Pius immediately wrote a brief to the chapter of Paris, admonishing them of their duty, and censuring the culpable audacity of Cardinal Maury. He pronounced him an intruder, and declared his temerity unpardonable. “ He had disobeyed the sacred canons, the decretals of the popes, and all the laws of ecclesiastical discipline : the vicars were, therefore, to hold all his

acts as null and void. The int qualification; no authority, no tit acknowledged in him: he was l church of Montefiascone; the Ho could free him from this obligat resolves of the Pontiff they were communicate to the Cardinal, and we the Pope of the execution of them.

time, Maury, who was not a man 1 raged at the very first onset, nor t of countenance by reproaches, wro the Pope of his nomination, and of h of the archiepiscopal see of Paris.

that he was astonished at his audacit his *grief* even exceeded his amazement an unlooked-for and deplorable c he exclaimed, that he should have different from himself, as now to a church which he had so worthily the calamitous times of the revol then the temporal power," he contin triumphed that it may institute to ment of the church whomsoever Shall the ecclesiastical liberty be d

shall the elections become invalid?—shall schism be introduced? Such would be the effects, such the results, of the detestable example the Cardinal had given. Therefore, he commanded, he prayed, he conjured him, incontinently to resign the see of Paris, and to disburthen himself of the Imperial gifts; otherwise he would proceed rigorously against him.”

In the chapter of Paris, opinions were divided: some loved the empire better than the church, and some loved the church better than the empire; but the first were more numerous than the second; those accepted Maury, these rejected him. Among the latter, Paul Dastros, a canon and vicar-general, taking the opportunity of sending certain dispensations to the bishop of Savona, despatched with them a supplication to the Pope, requesting instructions from him how he was to act in the present conjuncture. The Holy Father, in his reply, again pronounced Maury an intruder and a rebel, a man of intolerable audacity; and he commanded Dastros, in virtue of the sacred duty of obedience, instantly to show his letter

to the Cardinal, and to enjoin him to desist from his rash enterprise.

Rovigo, who knew every thing, told it to the Emperor. Napoleon was at it. In the first place, he could be suddenly arrested, and, accordingly, he was consigned to the state prison. He withstood such reproaches and such threats. Portalis, a councillor of state, brought him a letter to Dastros had come and told him that the poor youth returned to his country weeping and terrified. At Savoy he was pressing; the police diligently searched the portfolios of the Pope's suite. They searched the desks of Paolo Campa, Giovan Battista Porta, the prelates Doria and others; and lastly, they searched Andrea Maffei and Targhini, cooks and valets. They found letters from the Pope, respecting his reverses at Asti, Florence, and elsewhere; from Dipietro, with petitions for aid and directions for the conduct of his affairs; descriptions and attestations of his sufferings; iron gates of Fenestrella of

Morelli, Soglia, Moiraghi, and Ceccarini, a surgeon, and Bertoni, a valet. One Petroncini, a servant of Doria, was also placed in secret confinement. Porta escaped with a serious admonition, and an intimation that if he meddled in these matters again, it would be so much the worse for him. Doria was sent to reside with his own family at Naples, with an imperative command not to presume to look behind him. Nor could Dipietro escape the Imperial wrath: arrested at Semur, his exile was changed to imprisonment.

Having disposed of the inferiors, Rovigo and Napoleon consulted together as to what was to be done with the Pope. If the others had committed any fault against Napoleon, the Pope they thought had committed yet greater, and from him greater danger was to be apprehended. They could not comprehend how, amidst the thick darkness with which they had so carefully surrounded the pontiff, an aperture had been found through which a ray of light had penetrated. The prefect of Montenotte received some tokens of the Imperial wrath. Bigot de Preameneu began to thunder with the fiercest

against the Pope. — The
 said Emperor knew that the Pope had
 chosen of Florence not to confer
 the archbishopric he had nominated.
 considered this action a serious of
 the Pope then insisted on pro-
 viding that he not even permit
 to be in a time governed by the
 the Emperor judged worthy of
 not to whom according to estab-
 the Emperor intended the adminis-
 tration was? Could the Pope con-
 sider any arrangement which it was
 to and at any moment by granting
 that he believe that the Emperor
 subordinate to a chapter, so that
 the said chapter might have elected
 require to be acknowledged by him
 acknowledged, or if superseded, to
 preserve the right of exercising func-
 tions temporal and spiritual? A bishop

than the bishops? Would not the subjects of the Emperor who composed the chapters render themselves culpable if they chose another vicar than the one their sovereign indicated to them? Ought not a vicar so chosen to cease of himself to exercise the office for the peace of the church? or if this motive—stronger certainly than the arbitrary will of the Pope, should not induce him to do so, the will of the sovereign would deprive him of the power of acting, and if he constituted himself a rebel, he must bear the penalty of his rebellion. The Pope had seen the confusion which had been produced by the instructions—which he had no right to give, as to the form of an oath from a subject to his sovereign; nor could he possibly be ignorant of the consequences which might result from his letter to the chapter of Florence. No violence, no insult from the Pope would the Emperor suffer to pass with impunity. He was, notwithstanding, ready to come to an agreement, if the Pope would write to him and inform him what his wishes were; but if, on the contrary, he persisted on one hand in leaving the church

without instituted bishops, and interfering with the canons, and to rebellion against their sovereign would no longer acknowledge in functions of the pontifical government spirit is peace and charity; he future see under the most venerable an arrogant enemy; he should deprive him of the means of injuring all communication with the empire, and to isolate him as a personage. The prelate Doria could have no other fate than that of Cardinal Palestrina; not from what impulse of respect they were made to threaten, not Pius, but they clearly intimated that what befell Doria the Pope should apply to him.

When the affair of Dastros was known, the irritation of the government increased. The Parisian ministry received the letters of the Pope were of rebellion; that he waved the sword around; he talked of concord, and discord. The prefect of Monteno-

manded by the Emperor himself to prevent the transmission of all letters to or from the residence of the Pope: he was also commanded to speak more resolutely to the Pope himself, and to sound in his ears, "that after the excommunication he had fulminated, after his conduct at Rome (in which he persisted at Savona), the Emperor would treat him as he deserved: the age had become so enlightened, that it could clearly distinguish between the doctrines of Jesus Christ, and those of Gregory the Seventh."

Threats were followed up by acts: from spleen, and from the hope that terror would extort concession, the Emperor had commanded that all external pomp should be banished from the pontifical residence. These rigid commands were diligently executed: Prince Borghese deprived the Pope of his carriages; deprived him of Sarmatoris, and of his other officers; suppressed every exterior mark of respect; interdicted the use of pen and ink; intimated to him, by the order of the Emperor, that he was prohibited from communicating with any church of the empire, or with any subject of the Emperor,

under the penalty of disobedience, as we
him as for them; that he who had pre
rebellion, he whose soul was dyed in gall, c
to be the organ of the church; that, sin
could do nothing wisely, he should be ma
know that the Emperor was sufficiently pow
to do as his ancestors had done, and d
the Pope.

They thought at Paris that comm
acquired increased force from repetition. Th
fore Bigot de Preameneu again desired that
Pope should be informed that, on his acc
the cardinals and vicars general had lost
liberty, and the canons their prebends; tha
secret machinations were unworthy of his of
that he would be the cause of misfortune t
those who had dealings with him; that
declared enemy of the Emperor ought to
himself at rest; and as he chose to style him
a prisoner, he should act as if he were t
a captive, nor attempt any correspondence
communication with any one; that it wa
great misfortune to Christendom to have a
thus ignorant of what was due to sovereig

finally, that the peace of the state should not be disturbed, and that the necessary acts should be effected without him.

Besides the commands of the minister of the officiality and of the governor of Piedmont, as the whole Napoleonic government was set in motion against the priest of Savona, orders were issued from the banks of the despotic and inquisitorial Seine, to watch the pontifical residence within and without. They examined every thing—they analysed every thing; nothing, however trifling, could transpire, or, to use the very official words, could filtrate without the knowledge of the police. They watched what was important; with the same jealousy they watched what was insignificant: they did not give implicit faith to all, but only to the most confidential. If any one gave false intelligence, he was punished; if true, he was rewarded. The investigation was vigilant, constant, but invisible, as various as the forms of Proteus. The agents were of all languages, of all classes, of all trades; various and infinite the pretexts, but always natural; for there was to be no

alembic seen, lest it should call an alchemist. They were commanded to practice every species of craft, and stratagem, every sort of trick. They surpassed in cunning (these were the men of the letters) even the priests, the most mischievous and artful. They were especially to watch the road from Turin, for that was the infectious source. They were carefully to examine foot-passengers, and scan them diligently. Pretexts are wanted to evade suspicion: now they were to be on the watch for a vagabond, now of a fugitive, now were seeking a deserter, and a demned thief; a slight excuse served for the truth. In brief, the territory was desolated by the police. When there were general assemblies of men of every condition, high or low, the police were to enlist on the side of the government. Who were most esteemed and most eloquent, they were to instigate them to say that the Pope was wrong and the Emperor right, that Napoleon loved religion better

did. They intrigued also to procure the aid of the sacristies and the confessionals. The curates and the constitutional priests were given to understand that their obedience and submission should not remain unnoticed, or unrewarded. If any canon, or any regular who had returned to secular life, felt an emotion either of pity or compunction, the precepts of self-interest were quickly sounded in his ears, and he was intimidated at once by hints of the loss of his pension, and of the omniscience of the police. If, despite of all this, any one proved rebellious, a residence was assigned to him which much diminished his refractory disposition. In fine, they courted the ecclesiastics in public and in private by every species of courtesy, recommending those to the minister of the officiality who, by precept and example, most strenuously advocated the doctrine of obedience, teaching that all temporal power comes from God, and that the gospel enjoins submission to princes. They were required to imbue their flocks with the conviction, that the Emperor never deviated from the maxims which regulated his government ; his boundless munificence always

rewarding those who faithfully served him; his inflexible justice punishing the calumniator, the disseminator of schism and discord.

These were the measures employed by Napoleon to segregate his adherents from mankind, and to prevent any knowledge, or saying, or doing, authorized against his will. The skill certainly exquisite; a fit study desired only to govern in consolidated despotism of his own unconstrained will. The Emperor seeing that neither promises, nor threats, nor arts of intimidation, nor imprisonment, could bend the Pontiff, and believing that popular opinion would not, until every other method had been tried, admit of his making, by his authority alone, so great an innovation, by which the bishops of France, and the realms subject to him, should be separated from the canonical institutions from the Apostolic See, he resolved to make a more efficient ecclesiastical council assembled at

was persuaded, that an army of ecclesiastics of rank and learning would strongly operate on the minds of the people in his favour, in case a necessity should arise for bursting the ties which united the episcopacy of France to the Holy See.

He was also resolved to adopt another measure, to which he was chiefly instigated by the ecclesiastical council: this was to convokè a national council at Paris, in order to consider of the exigencies of the times, and to suggest the measures that might be most expedient in consequence. Besides the great authority of such a council, this measure was desirable, from the hope that the Italian bishops also would attend the assembly, they being for the most part imbued with the doctrines which had latterly chiefly flourished at Pistoja, and had been embraced throughout Italy by many learned canonists, and would pronounce sentence in favour of an opinion which, as far as concerned the succession of bishops, appeared conformable to the ancient usages of the primitive church.

Having arranged these things, Napoleon,

secure of the result, stimulated council to commence their task. displayed great art in replying which had been framed with ye than their answers. To the qu the government of the church they answered, that it was not. faith, the holy scriptures, traditi decrees of councils furnished the r of discipline, those that were u regulated by the decrees of the univ those that were peculiar, by the l ular churches. This opinion of th well founded. They added, that church, full of charity and condes always respected each peculiar rule. that God had given to St. Peter an sors the primacy in honour and juris not proceeding beyond this general the council did not descend to pa explain in *what* consisted the prin diction; for in this the whole diff controversy lay. " God, at the sam tinued the councillors, " gave to a

the privilege of ruling the churches, subordinate, however, to the chief of the apostles, from which it resulted, that where this subordination was not infringed, the successors of the Apostles had full commission to govern the church.

They decided that the Pope could not refuse his intervention in spiritual affairs, on account of temporal causes, when these were not of such a nature as to prevent the free and independent exercise of his spiritual authority. "It was expedient for the Pope to have cardinals of all nations in the consistory, but it was not expedient to regulate the exact numbers; as it was proper to leave the pontiff some liberty in the election of his councillors. Nor on this point could the decree of the council of Basle be exceeded, which prescribed the election of cardinals of all nations, as far as could conveniently be done, and as the choice of the most worthy individuals might admit of it." But the council soon counter-vailed this opinion, by declaring, as the facts obliged them to do, "that the Emperor had truly united in his own person all the rights as to the election of cardinals, which had been

possessed by the kings of France, of Brabant, and by the sovereigns of Piedmont, and Tuscany." From this it has followed, that, with the exception of the cardinals of the hereditary states (and the rights of Spain were soon also added to the rest), that Napoleon was to nominate all the cardinals. And the independence of the Pope and of the Holy See were even to be reinstated in their dominion at Rome, would have been nullity.

They pronounced that "the Concordat had not been violated in any essential article by the Emperor." Here the prelates found themselves in a serious dilemma; for they knew the Pope had protested against the ordinance for France, and yet more strongly for Italy. They extricated themselves from this difficulty, however, by opportunely declaring that several of the articles of which they had complained were maxims and principles of the Gallican church. They answered, that the condition of the clergy in France had

ameliorated since the concordat. This the prelates had every reason to declare ; nor did they on this point say so much, that much more might not have been said.

To decide whether the Pope could of his own will refuse institution, the council entered into a long chain of argument ; for in this consisted the very nucleus of the whole difficulty. “ The concordat they explained as a reciprocal contract between the head of the state, and the head of the church, by which each had bound himself by certain obligations to the other. It was also a treaty of the highest importance to the French nation, and to the Catholic church. By it his Majesty was invested with the same right of nominating the archbishops and bishops which the kings of France had first enjoyed through the concordat concluded between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First. It was reserved for the Pope to give canonical institution to the nominees according to the form prescribed for France, previously to the change of government ; but that the Pope ought to give investiture, not of his own arbitrement, but according to canonical

regulations. By the terms of the concordat of 1515 he was obliged to grant the Emperor the right to declare the canonical reasons of his bulls, and to suppose that he could arbitrarily refuse any assigned cause, refuse the bulls of the Emperor, that he was not bound by any treaty, but by that which he had solemnly sworn, that he might break the faith which he had pledged to the Emperor, to France, to the Holy Church for which the concordat was made, secured the protection of the Emperor, the monarch of the earth. The Pope, the Emperor, knew these things, and acknowledged the truth of these maxims; but he denied them, and gave for the reasons stated in his letter to the Emperor at Caprara. These reasons were insupportable. The Emperor had not in any essential part violated the concordat. As for political matters, it was not their province to judge of such matters, but their concerns were of one nature, spiritual and temporal, of another. The Senatus-consultum which united Rome to France, had not taken away the spiritual authority of the Pope; nor the temporal dominion necessary for the execution of his duties.

pontifical functions. The appropriation of Rome had not violated the concordat, nor had the concordat made any stipulation to secure Rome to the Pope. Not for a temporal prince, but for the head of the church, had this treaty been framed. The prince was no more; but the pontificate was still in being, and the pontifical authority untouched. The Pope might protest, he might demand his Roman states; but he might not enforce his protests and his demands by spiritual means, or by excommunications. The Emperor declared, that he desired no innovation in religion; he protested that he sought the execution of the stipulated conditions of the concordat; nor could the Pope from temporal reasons refuse to fulfil them. Clement the Seventh, when insulted by Charles the Fifth, had never proceeded to such an extremity." The prelates were now to speak of the violation of the Pope's personal liberty, and of his segregation; for of these injuries had Pius complained in his letter to Cardinal Caprara, and on them he principally grounded his refusal of the bulls: on this point, they touched with

extreme brevity of expression that the Emperor would use the force, and all the justice points." Thus coldly did prelates who held the church observe on the cruel case of conduct on this point cannot say process of reasoning: if with regard to the canonical Emperor was right, and th wrong, the single fact of th the Pontiff rendered all deli part unjustifiable. The conc in fact a treaty, argued the condition of the two contrac the power of free deliberation i freedom of deliberation could Pope in the condition of a equality existed between an in and the Emperor who barred The independence of princes : be secured, an impassable b raised against the abuses of and whosoever could accomp

would deserve well of the Catholic world, nay, even of the whole human race. But the captivity of the Pope disturbed every thing, and, ere the canonical question was discussed, that of personal freedom should have been definitively concluded.

The subject in dispute became the more thorny as the debate advanced. The prelates declared, "that they could not consider the concordat as abrogated; because it was not a mere personal matter between the Emperor and the Pope, but a treaty which constituted a part of the public law of France, and contained the fundamental principles and rules of the Gallican church. Even, therefore, should the Pope persevere in refusing to execute his part, he was, nevertheless, called upon to perform the stipulations; and if the supreme pontiff still refused to grant the bulls, this refusal should be protested against as illegal, and an appeal made to the Pope, better informed, or to his successor." Here the prelates arrived at the last extreme; for whether the concordat were to be considered as abrogated, or as only suspended, a remedy in either case became necessary. "Seeing

then that the Catholic religion cannot exist without episcopacy, and that episcopacy cannot exist without canonical institution, and without the union of episcopal jurisdiction and authority; and seeing also that the Gallians have brought a portion of Catholic Christianity into these fatal straits, not by their own fault; she ought not, and she cannot, to ruin her own cause, nor supinely submit to her destruction, without seeking the means of preservation; and the prelates advise that the emperor should cause researches to be made into the constitution of the church, both in ancient and modern times, under similar circumstances." They also say that in the early ages of the church, bishops were elected by the suffrages of the clergy and the people of the same province, and the emperor received confirmation from the metropolitan see and the provincial council. In times posterior to Constantine the emperors and other Christians largely participated in the election of bishops; but by degrees the

made without the co-operation of the people or the clergy of the district; and the elections devolved on the canons of the cathedral church, dependent, however, on the consent of the prince, and the confirmation of the metropolitan, or of the provincial council. The disuse of these assemblies—the frequent contests that arose out of the elections—the difficulty of terminating them on the spot—the advantage that princes found in treating directly with the Pope, had introduced the customs of transferring these causes to the Holy See, and in this manner the supreme pontiff had gradually acquired the power of confirming the greater part of the bishops. This was the state of things at the period of the council of Basle. The decrees of this council relative to the nomination and confirmation of bishops, were accepted by the church of France, and confirmed by the pragmatic sanction of Bourges in 1438. By these, election by the chapters was confirmed, and institution left to the bishops. Thus the pragmatic sanction of Bourges had remedied the want of pontifical institution. About a century from that time, the concordat between Leo the Tenth and


Francis the First had been contention by the king was substituted chapters, and canonical institution for the pope alone. In this power of institution been transferred to the metropolitans, or the provincial supreme pontiff, and the election of chapters to the supreme rule. "Now, therefore," said the prelate, "further discussion, since the necessities are imperative, and since the Gallican church is not only enjoined by every precept, but if the Pope persisted in his refusal, it is advisable to return to the ancient metropolitans—not in perpetuity but transitorily, for a season only, please Him who moves all hearts to good pleasure to turn that of the Gallican church to this great, affectionate, and zealous France. The pragmatic sanction must afford the remedy of this serious and extreme as the measure the prelates further recommend."

council; they did not desire to anticipate the resolution of this council; but they presumed that in case that should decide on the revival of the pragmatic sanction, it would first conjure and supplicate the Pontiff to show sincere affection towards the Gallican church, and by restoring to her the bishops to restore her life; yet, if neither prayers nor supplications could overcome the obstinacy of the Pope, the council then, as a last resource to avoid utter destruction, should order the pragmatic sanction to be revived."

In the mean time, the doctrine of the advocates of the primitive discipline became daily more widely diffused; and the Italian states, more especially, resounded with them. Those who had embraced these opinions believed that the time of their triumph had arrived; they rejoiced in the diminution of the papal authority, and affirmed, that the remedies proposed were not only salutary but indispensably necessary to the most unhealthy state (as they averred it to be) of the church. The remembrance of the transactions of 1801, and the proceedings of the national council of Paris of that year, had not

enlightened them as to the conditions of Napoleon. "The episcopate, they, represented the church, and to represent her as long as they had endeavoured, in these limits, to diminish the divine authority of the bishops, the popes had been guilty of offence. The power inherent in the order is immediately derived from God, and no human power can arrogate the right of altering it. Never could the jurisdiction perish: the council of the year one thousand acknowledged the legitimate bishops, those only ordained by their respective metropolitans; the decision of the councils of the decrees of which so much respect was shown in those early and purest days. The contrary doctrines had been established by the Lateran councils alone, while the domestic councils of the popes and metropolitans, in fine, ought to give the bishops; the attempt of the popes to give it to themselves entirely, had

usurpation. God had given to Peter the primacy of honour ; and the supreme power of regulating and maintaining in purity the discipline and the faith of all the churches that compose the universal church belonged to them, but not the right of jurisdiction in the case in point : the power of jurisdiction, as far as concerns the transmission of the ecclesiastical authority, was plenary in every bishop by right and divine ordinance, as fully as it was in the supreme pontiff. Christ the Redeemer had thus ordained, when he gave the bishops power to rule over the churches : this was required for the security of states, and for the independence of the temporal power. Was it just and expedient, they demanded, and accordant to the divine will, that the popes should be able, by issuing an interdict, and refusing to continue the succession of the episcopacy, to disturb the consciences of the pious, and to convulse provinces and kingdoms ? Was it not absurd to suppose, that God had not given to every social union the means of preserving itself in health and safety ? And what security, what safety could there be in a



state of dependence on a foreigner? and various had been the methods devised by the princes to preserve their own states from dangers which threatened them by the domination of the Roman See; now pragmatics, now apocryphal, now concordats; but all had proved insufficient because the root of the evil had been suffered to remain, that is, the illegitimate and excessive power of the popes. At every caprice of the See of Rome, a new swarm of perils and dissensions were put in motion; every election of a pope excited alarm; a cardinals' vote more or less in the consistory was sufficient to turn a kingdom upside down. It was now the time to undo this hitherto inextricable knot; the tyranny of Rome ought now to be prostrated; when a prince who was potent above all others desired to accomplish such a task. Were episcopacy restored to its full dignity—to its independence and power, this independence on the See of Rome would be the universal liberty; it would secure the purity of the Catholic doctrine, because the mixture of temporal with spiritual concerns which had been the source of innumerable

scandals, and of a deplorable schism, had been the work of Rome. If religion were entirely spiritual, and did not disturb the peace of states, or give occasion for the malicious to censure her, she would have more influence; and even those who did not yield her allegiance would not refuse to grant her their respect. The Catholic communion unceasingly deplored the loss of Germany, the loss of England: this lamentable dismemberment was solely to be ascribed to the preponderance of Rome, to the usurpations of the popes, and to their cupidity in temporal matters. They ought, therefore, to return to that system which, established by Christ and by the apostles, had endured for so many centuries in the primitive church, which the most pious, the most learned, the most exemplary, had inculcated, and, with the most zealous affection, espoused as their own. From this alone could religion derive purity, states security. The honoured memories of Leopold and Ricci were still fresh, especially in Italy; and not a few of the ecclesiastics there, even of the first rank, and as superior, too, for

their learning and virtue, followed the same steps, and supported the same designs, not from ambition, nor from the desire of advancement towards him to whom all their adversaries, were become reconciled, from sincere conviction, from restoring the ancient constitution such as they believe it to have been, from removing abuses, of restoring and confirming the rights of princes, which was infringed by the exorbitant power of the church."

The diffusion of these doctrines, was not without effect on Napoleon, because he thought that it afforded him an opportunity of intimidating the pope. The excited hopes of reducing him to obedience, nor were they displeasing to the pope. The independence amongst the bishops, and the independence amongst the bishops, and the independence amongst the bishops. This Roman yoke already began to be felt, and intolerable to them, and they were not without the idea of becoming popes themselves. The ecclesiastics of his dominions, and every thing went on to the advantage of Napoleon.

The Pope triumphed, not only

but by misfortunes, which always appeal to the hearts of men; nor were his theologians silent, although Napoleon had endeavoured to put a rough bridle in their mouths. They defended the Apostolical See, not only against the doctrines of Port-Royal and Pistoja, but against the allegations of the ecclesiastical council. "Christ," they asserted "had founded on Peter the whole edifice of religion; to him had given the primacy of honour—the primacy of jurisdiction: by him, and by him alone, could the authority of the church be transmitted and transferred to others. Christ, the Saviour, had in truth appointed the bishops to govern the church, but not of themselves, or independently of Peter, but by his mandate, and under his controul. Peter was the fountain from which flowed all ecclesiastical power. From the necessity of the times in those early ages, in the midst of adverse religions, of continual persecutions; amidst a people masters of the world, and who adored other gods; amidst so many differing nations; amidst the vast extent of Asia, Africa, and Europe; the first apostles by divine, and afterwards the bishops by apostolical insti-

tution, had used their authority without express mandate of St. Peter, yet with his consent; for it was not to be believed, that in order to support so great a weight, the apostles and their successors should not have agreed by common consent, to grant the different provinces one or to another, to avoid confusion and controversy. Notwithstanding this, it was incontrovertible that Peter had an ordinary and perpetual mandate, while the apostles an extraordinary mandate, which was to end with themselves, or with their immediate successors,—he a mandate for the foundation and perpetual government of the church; they a temporary mandate, adapted to the necessities of the times: this necessity ceased, the authority distributed amongst the apostles and their immediate successors, returned to its common fountain, that is to say, to the successor of Peter. Thus the church, sprung from many, returned to one alone,—a wonderful divine dispensation. Even in the most remote antiquity, evidences of the transfer of the authority of Peter to the other rulers of the church may be discovered. The metropolitan dignity

confirms this truth ; for in those early times, the Christian world was divided into east and west ; there were two metropolitan sees in the first, Alexandria and Antioch ; one in the second, Rome. The two oriental metropolitans gave to the bishops of their respective provinces the ecclesiastical mandate, that is, ordination and jurisdiction, conferring the office, and assigning its locality. The metropolitan of the west, the successor of Peter, did the same to the bishops of the west ; but the former had originally received their power from Peter ; for Peter had himself governed the church of Antioch, and had appointed his successor in its government, when he had come to found and to rule over the church of Rome. As to the church of Antioch, Peter had sent his disciple, St. Mark, to govern it ; but if the origin shows the authority, so do particular circumstances confirm it ; because the Roman pontiffs, successors of St. Peter, sent the pall, in token of the conferred authority, to the eastern metropolitans. These metropolitans sought to receive the communion from the Roman pontiff, and without obtaining this communion, they did not consider

themselves to be legitimate. The Roman pontiffs were known to have at times deposed the metropolitans, or, as they were afterwards called, patriarchs of the east. According to the Roman law, all these circumstances demonstrated the superiority of Rome from the earliest ages; from which are to be deduced the independence and the perpetuity of the mandate given to the popes, and the dependence of the metropolitans as only delegates. From this it follows, that since all spiritual authority consists in the faculty of transmitting the mandate of Christ, the right of confirming and instituting all the bishops of the church is supreme and divine, consequently inalienable, uncontrollable, and not subject to interruption, restriction, or cessation. No power whatever, not even the church, could diminish it. If any modification had at any time been introduced, especially in the primitive ages, it had taken place by the determination or with the consent of the supreme pontiff."

Then, as to France in particular, the Roman theologians asserted the transmission of the mandate of St. Peter to the church of that re-

be much more manifest than in any other whatever ; because the popes, as regarded that church, were not only popes, but metropolitans, being the metropolitans of the west ; and if any particular metropolitan had been created for the better government of the church through so wide a province, he was created by the pontifical authority. Of the nomination and institution of bishops made by the popes in the four Gauls, even without the intervention of the metropolitans, or of the regal authority itself, examples are to be found ; and, if examples of nomination, of depositions also ; which proves the fulness of the pontifical authority in France, in every period."

Nor did the defenders of the Apostolical See allow more weight to the arguments adduced from the pragmatic sanction of Bourges. "For this they esteemed wholly invalid, from the essential defect of its origin, having been, as they said, concerted and published by the incompetent and secular authority of the king. If they pronounced it null from the view of its origin, they were further bound to maintain more strongly its nullity by

a decree of the universal church ; for the Lateran council had abrogated and annulled and had further declared it schismatic. even allowing that it were not defective in origin, and that all might be referred to ecclesiastical authority, that is, to a national council of France ; can the authority of a national council supersede that of a general council ? the decision of a part have greater weight than the decision of the whole ? Does infallibility belong to particular and not to the ecumenical councils ? Has the Gallican church herself—the clergy of 1682, gone to such excesses and have maintained a proposition so monstrous has it not, on the contrary, definitively declared that infallibility resides in the universal council and the Pope conjoined ? If this be true, as true it is, how can the proposition be maintained that the pragmatic sanction of Bourges is schismatic ? How can the clergy of France support this without contradicting themselves ? The Lateran censures proved the error of the national council, and the necessity of the papal mandate to confer episcopal jurisdiction.

Further, the concordat between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First, abolished the pragmatic sanction, nor could it in any manner be resuscitated. The council of Trent, that is, the universal church, had approved the concordat itself, and had solemnly pronounced the pontifical authority to be indispensable for the canonical institution of bishops. Nor does it avail to assert, that the council of Trent was not accepted in France as to discipline; for the immortal mandate of the successors of St. Peter is not a rule of discipline, but is a divine institution, and therefore appertaining to doctrine. Besides this, it was only the King of France, that is, the secular power, that refused to accept, in other words, to publish the council of Trent, whilst the Gallican clergy accepted it truly, and continually urged the Kings of France to publish it."

"Nor," continued they, "is the allegation of necessity more valid; because it is evident, that even in a case of necessity, the power of administering an extraordinary remedy is requisite, such being administered; without such power, that which is proposed as medicine, must be in

fact, otherwise,—a poison that would occasion death—not life. Now, certainly, the Gallican clergy do not possess the faculty of modifying still less of annulling that which, supposing that it were not of divine institution, has been declared, defined, and decreed by the universal church. In similar cases, we must not expect to procure a remedy for ourselves, but wait till we receive it from Providence.

“ The prelates of the ecclesiastical council maintain that the government of the church is not despotic; that the Pope must conform to the canons; and that they appeal for this to the councils. But when the Pope, in the fulfilment of that concordat which, without having any regard to the canons, he made with Napoleon, had exercised an arbitrary and unheard of authority, and, notwithstanding the councils, even the general councils, and his own self declares, had deposed without any form of censure or process, all the bishops of the kingdom of France; these same prelates are now so jealous of the Gallican liberties that they do not then invoke these liberties—they did not then complain of papal despotism—they did not

to a council; but most complacently, most willingly, did they take the seats of the deposed ecclesiastics; and now they employ that authority which the Pope, to the prejudice of those whom they superseded, had given to them, to assault him, and to teach that no power is independent of the canons. They did not then demand a general council, nor the assent of the church, when power, wealth, and honours were in question. But if then they erred, and if the canons are inviolable, if the Gallican liberties are inviolable, they must now submit to the charge of ignorance, to avoid the character of impostors, since from their error and participation, there has not been in the church of France for ten years back any legitimate jurisdiction; and all the bishops and all the curates have been intruders. By their adherence to the concordat, they renounced their liberty, and implicitly acknowledged the superiority of the Pope over the canons; they acknowledged his infallibility; and now they raise their audacious heads against this same Pope, whose power they had thus so loudly proclaimed. Do they then think that the

Pope, according to the dictates of their cupidity and ambition, must now condemn that which he had approved, and now approve that which he had condemned? They complain of the contrary proceedings of the Pope. Do they think then, that on the face of the wide spread of their Emperor, to whom they offer so much adulation, is alone to be invested with absolute power? The Imperial caprices they welcome; the decrees of the Pope they reject; they are the enemies of their blameless chief; they prefer the sycophants of their tyrant; they prefer to excommunicate to a Pope.*

“ Even if the Gallican liberties be granted to the extent demanded, does it therefore follow that out of France that system should be brought on others? Let it be in force in France, it must be the humour of the nation and the clergy; by what right, with what justice, can it be transplanted to Italy? Was it for Italy that the clergy of 1682 made their stipulations?

* The Translator has here omitted some paragraphs of the original, which contain only lengthy repetitions of arguments already fully detailed.

commands this act?—who executes it?—a decree of Napoleon, a senatus-consultum of his adherents. Then, because Napoleon declared that he wished Turin, Genoa, Milan, Florence, and Rome, to become subject to the Gallican laws, and the decrees of the assembly held at Paris in 1682; then immediately such became the law in these provinces. Where did Napoleon receive the mandate, on which to disturb ecclesiastical affairs in Italy, especially in Rome? And who shall dare to say, that his, if but a civil decree, is to effect ecclesiastical changes?

“Much has been said, and is daily repeated,” continued the advocates of Rome, “of the abuse of the pontifical authority. Certainly, those pontiffs have erred who have disturbed kingdoms for temporal matters; as those princes have erred, who have agitated them for spiritual concerns: on which side the greater blame should rest, this is not the place to say; history charges herself with the sentence. But in fine, what danger did there appear to be, that Pius the Seventh would abuse the power of institution, to disturb the tranquillity of France? How could

the idea ever occur to his mind of afflicting *leon's France*? how could it occur to him in his declining age, over rugged mountains, in the harshest season of the year, against the opposition of the sovereigns of Europe, against the opposition of many cardinals, had travelled even to Rome to crown him? What grounds had Pius for the belief that he desired to assume in France or elsewhere, an intolerable domination? To say, 'look to the future;' but to judge of the future, it is necessary to consider the past: 'then to the past,' and it will be seen where intolerable domination may be found. No ecclesiastical liberty spoken of here, because such a discourse must be offensive to the clergy who desire to yield it up a prey to the empire. Let us only observe what would become of the church if nomination should belong to secular princes, and institution to the metropolitans or bishops, subjects of the said princes. Pontifical institution corrects regal nomination. If princes possess both powers, one directly in their own right, the other indirectly through the medium of superiors, prelates, religion must become subservient

them in cases adverse to her interests even in matters of faith : no alternative then would remain to her ministers but to incur the abomination of heresy, or the tortures of martyrdom. Pius the Seventh resists an insupportable tyranny : the church will for ever be his debtor, nor princes less ; for if the Pope succumb, Christianity—the world is enslaved : the Pope combats for the liberty of all.”

At this time the conspiracy which had been contrived against a captive Pope began to discover itself : soldiers and spies did their part at Savona ; prelates prepared to perform theirs at Paris : they were fifteen in number, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops ; of cardinals, Fesch, Maury, and Caselli, the archbishops of Tours, Toulouse, and Malines, the bishops of Versailles, of Savona, of Casalle, of Quimper, of Montpellier, of Troyes, of Metz, of Nantes, of Treves, to whom may be added the bishop of Faenza. The Emperor commanded them to send a deputation to Savona, in hopes of moving the Pope : they elected the archbishop of Tours, the bishops of Nantes and Treves. The national council,

convened at Paris for the 9th was another part of the Imperial intimidation, was held in reading to the Pope the terms of the agreement by the Emperor. Napoleon called his deputies to declare to the Pope the result of the council, and the abrogation of the concordat, as he, one of the contractors, refused to observe the conditions before the concordat of Francis the 1st would, in future, be instituted according to the forms prescribed by the council, and by the Emperor. Notwithstanding this, Napoleon gave the prelates power to return to Savona: but this power was to be exercised in case they found the Pope disposed to make distinct and separate conventions: by the first, the institution of bishops was to be secured; and by this, the Pope consented to return to the stipulations of the concordat, with this difference, however, that the Pope was to grant institution to the already named; and in future, if he did not institute the nominees in three

the date on which he was informed of their nomination, the nomination was to be communicated to the metropolitan, who was to give institution to the suffragans; in like manner they were, when necessary, to institute an archbishop. By the second, the Emperor wished to regulate general affairs, the following conditions being absolute:—the Pope might return to Rome if he would consent to the oath prescribed by the concordat; if he refused this oath, he might reside at Avignon, there to enjoy regal honours, and a revenue of two millions; to receive the ministers of all the Christian powers; and, finally, to exercise full and perfect freedom in the government of spiritual concerns; but all under the express condition, that he was to do nothing in the empire contrary to the four articles of 1682. If the Pope accepted these conditions, the Emperor proposed much for his future advantage, and made many proffers:” he would willingly incline to an agreement with the Pope, as well for the free exercise of his spiritual functions as for the creation of new bishoprics in France and in

the Netherlands; he would use to protect the religious orders of the would rebuild the holy sepulchre; the missions; would regulate the and restore the papal archives. But finally all, the deputies were entirely to hope from the Pontiff of recovering sovereignty of Rome: they were understand that the council was that the church of France was on all that the good of the souls come charge, and the interests of require."

Napoleon must have felt extraordinary confidence in himself, in the prelate effect of force, if he could persuade a Pope could fall so low as to return as a subject to that place reigned as a sovereign; and could obedience and fidelity to the Emperor by that same form of oath which self, as a sovereign, so lately into Napoleon, in mutually binding between them; that he should c

himself by the obligation of an oath to serve him as an informer and a spy, not even excepting the secrets of the confessional. That Napoleon should have made this proposition, no man will wonder ; but that prelates, bearing the name of Catholics, should have accepted the office of announcing it, if it excite our astonishment, must still more strongly excite indignation.

The ecclesiastical deputies reached Savona with all those matters well digested, and with a permission from the minister of the officiality to communicate with the Pope ; for otherwise they could not have approached him. They presented themselves in the most respectful manner, and laboured zealously to gain his favour ; and they were received with the utmost graciousness, and entered the following day on their mission. Objecting always the difficulty arising from his imprisonment, Pius replied, that he would make no decision, nor grant any bull, until he was restored to liberty ; for, in his situation, deprived of his natural counsellors, deprived of his theologians, deprived of books, of paper, and of pens ; deprived, in fine, of his

confessor, whom he had in view, could neither inform himself of the qualifications of the nominees, he could not go into, much less concede any thing of this first warmth on the part of the prelates entertained his views, or in persuading him, either from the state of his present situation, from fear of the consequences, or from despair of the possibility of any change in the fortunes of the empire, to relax, in some degree, from the strictness he had made, and to consent, at least to the demands which were made upon him. The negotiation was artfully conducted, and still more artful were the arguments which the Emperor founded upon the importance of the matter connected with the institution of the bishops, and the necessity, if not by the Pope, by an authority of the same authority of the metropolitan, to obtain confirmation: it was also of great use to induce the Pope to treat the matter in a way that would imply his being

excommunication, if not explicitly, at least by inference from the fact itself.

Assailed and importuned on every side, Pius retracted his declaration, that he would not treat till he was set at liberty, and began to explain his intentions. The oath he decidedly refused; but as for the four propositions, he showed himself not averse to the first, though he rejected the other three as censurable; declaring, that “the church would pronounce him a vile traitor, overcome by the weariness of captivity; that his name would be debased by an act which would be to him the cause of incredible affliction; but for the love of peace, he would do nothing contrary to their import. Coming to the principal object of the negociation—that of the investiture, he exclaimed against the term of three months as too short to admit of any investigation into the merits of the nominees: in such a case the Emperor would be the sole judge of the qualifications of the bishops; and in the end the metropolitans would sit in judgment on the refusal of the Holy See. This

change was too great ; nor could he like him, presume to make such a change. He also represented strongly that it was impossible for the pope to exercise more immediate rights over the churches than that his conscience was reproached if other sovereigns would demand the same prerogatives, and enforce the same nominations of persons unworthy of the sees might occur, of men ignorant in morals or faith ; the apostle would no longer be the Holy See ; the promise of God to St. Peter would pervert ; the papal power would prevail in the church, and the church entirely governed by the secular power.

The delegates represented the imminent danger of the church, the loss of the prerogatives of the papacy, the sufferings of all his adherents, and he cast his eyes to Heaven, imploring " *Patience!*" He again represented, that his conscience forbade him to consent that the head of the church should be isolated from all counsel. The

to make another attempt to overcome the scruples, and the resolution of the Pope: they entreated the bishop of Nantes, as being more deeply versed in canonical law, and more determined in his opinions on these matters than his colleagues, to compose a memorial to be presented to his Holiness. He accordingly wrote the required address in French, and the bishop of Faenza translated it into Italian: the substance of his reasoning was, that since Napoleon would not yield, the Pope must of necessity yield to him. The deputies, in fine, earnestly recommended Pius to grant the clause regarding the metropolitans, affirming that there was no necessity either for protracted discussion or for counsellors, to decide whether the Holy See should keep or lose for ever the institution of the bishops of France; and by this name, they understood not only those of the ancient kingdom, but of Italy, of Piedmont, of Parma, of Tuscany, and of the Roman state itself. In conclusion, they offered that his Holiness should see any prelate who might be in some of the neighbouring places, and in

whom he could confide; and the
Spina, as if in these times, and with
of Savona, any one could be free, or
give advice.

The mind of the Pope began now
by the reasoning of the delegates, by
ness of captivity and seclusion,
prospect of future evils; and altho
vacillated, now more accommodatin
drawing back, he began to be less av
with them on the clause of institution.
only to extend to six months the t
prior to the institution by the metro
Emperor to be also bound to nomina
definite time; as if, should such nece
posed on the Pope, and not on the
equality between the two parties w
stroyed. The delegates admitted th
this stipulation; for if the uninterupte
of the episcopacy was to be secured
Done it was not less to be secured

excluded from the church. The delegates, at this period of the negociation, perceiving the Pope to be inclined to vacillate, for they had learned in the Napoleonic school to discern those favorable moments of weakness in which to drive on a conclusion ; and fearing to excite the displeasure of the Emperor, if they did not fully execute his commands at Savona, they all simultaneously assailed Pius, pressing him and urging him on every side. "What description of act," they demanded, "was this excommunication? It was not, nor ever could be, authentic in France; France would never depart from the maxims of her church. It had been productive of the worst effects to those communities, and also to those individuals who were the most strongly devoted to the Holy See; all had lamented it as highly prejudicial to the Pope, to the church, to the cardinals; not only to the red, but also to the black, as they called the imprisoned and exiled cardinals; they had never ceased to communicate *in divinis* with his Majesty; they had chaunted the Imperial victories; they had celebrated every festival in the Imperial chapel." The Pope

already hesitated ; and to force him at once to decision, the delegates demanded an audience to announce to him their immediate departure. “ Well ought he to consider the impending danger, he alone would be responsible to God and man, if through his means the wounds of the church would be rendered incurable ;—if they once broke out the council would do its office :—he would have unwelcome news from Paris.”

Attacked, in fine, on every side, and separated from all intercourse with the world, the pope promised to come to an agreement, the import of which was,—“ That his Holiness, taking into consideration the wishes and the wants of the churches of France and Italy, represented by their deputies, and desirous of demonstrating by a new act his paternal affection towards the said churches, would give canonical institution to the nominees of his Majesty, in the forms dictated by the concordats of France, and of the king of Italy ; that he had resolved to extend by a concordat those same regulations to the churches of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza ; that he consented to insert a clause in the concordat

missing to forward the bulls of institution to the bishops nominated by his Majesty, in a certain determinate time, which he thought could not be less than six months; and in case that the bulls were delayed for more than six months from any other cause than the unworthiness of the nominees, he would invest the metropolitan of the vacant church with authority at the expiration of the six months, to give institution in his name, or, failing him, the most ancient bishop of the ecclesiastical province. His Holiness further stated that he was induced to make these concessions by the hope conceived from the communications of the deputed bishops, that they would open the way to concord, and restore peace and order to the church—restore to the Holy See the freedom, the independence, and the dignity which became her.” An addition was made to the instrument containing these promises,—which the deputies affirmed was by his consent, the Pope averring on the contrary that he was surprised into it,—of an article conceived in these terms; “That the arrangements relative to the government of the church and the exercise of the

pontifical authority should be the particular treaty, and that his Holiness to negotiate, as soon as his counsel liberty should be restored to him."

Reflecting on the magnitude of the step he had made, and all his doubts returning to his mind, Pius could obtain no sleep through the night: the appended clause disturbed his peace, he fearing that it might induce him to come to a negotiation, treaty or promise, respecting the government of the papacy, even in the spiritual part. The next following day, taking the pen into his hand (for he was allowed the use of pen and ink in the negotiation) he added to the words: "That with surprise he had been brought to the draught of the demands which had been made, the words '*diverse arrangements*' which followed to the end of the article. Still writing with his own hand, he added: "that the said demands had been presented to him neither as a treaty, nor as preliminary conditions, solely to demonstrate his design to conform to the provisions of the church of Rome."

future time. When the subject should have been well considered, that could be settled in a stable manner; but now he obliged himself transitorily to make these said provisions, and in case that they could not be realised or approved, he bound himself to treat of some other stipulations." This protest not satisfying the mind of the pontiff, he summoned the prefect, and Lagorse, a gendarme of the pontifical palace, positively affirming to them that he had not admitted the last phrase of the writing agreed to between him and the bishops. He further declared to them, that not having slept all the night previous to the day of that negociation, he had been as if half intoxicated, and that, consequently, he was not on that day capable of making any promise. Finally, he did not consider himself bound by any treaty, nor by any preliminary of a treaty; and this he desired to be fully understood, because he did not wish to be obliged to remonstrate on the subject, nor to wear an appearance of a breach of faith. If it should become necessary, he would, however, raise his voice against it; and he wished it to be well

understood that nothing on his part had been definitively concluded. It was of little consequence to the delegated bishops whether the additions were or were not agreed to by the Pontiff, for the pith of the matter was the institution to be given by the Pope, or, in case of delay on his part, by the metropolitans. Therefore, they willingly consented to cancel the appendix, and sent the document to the minister from Turin.

The deputies announced to the Imperial government, with no small pleasure, the concessions made by the Pope; at the same time declaring that it appeared impossible to persuade the Father to promise in writing that he would not attempt any thing against the three last propositions of the council of 1682. He would only declare that it was not his intention to do any thing contrary to them. It was equally impossible to induce him to take the oath, or to resign his temporal sovereignty. As for the proffered revenue of two millions, he declared that he "would not accept it; a very little would suffice for him to live on, and on little would

live. The piety of the faithful would," he said, "be his support." In the midst of all this the prelates discovered, and communicated their conviction to the government, that it was above all things the fixed and unalterable determination of the Pontiff not to suffer the Emperor to nominate to the vacant sees of the pontifical state, affirming, that to himself alone belonged the nomination and the institution. "How!" exclaimed the Pope, with infinite emotion, "shall the titles of cardinal bishops and the suburban bishops be destroyed without the consent of the Holy See? Can it be desired that I should consent to a concordat, by which the Emperor should dispose of all these bishoprics, and even nominate to such as they should neutrally agree to retain? It would be a lamentable circumstance if in all Christendom the Pope should not be able of his own will to make a single bishop, and should have nothing left in his power to recompense those servants who had well and faithfully served him in the pontifical government."

Great rejoicings, on account of the concessions

promised by the Pope, took place in the palaces, where the result of the deliberations of the prelates to Rome had been announced. All were pleased that the excommunications had been withdrawn, and the independence of the Empire. The Emperor having in part complied with the Pope, he now became incited to go further entirely; and he made yet greater demands that all he had declared to the bishops should be carried into effect, nor would he permit any exceptions to be made: the Pope renounce his temporal dominions, become vassal to Rome, or repair to the Emperor for greater vassalage, and must pay an Imperial stipend. For this purpose he employed the council: some were first sent to the Pope, not to the Emperor, and even of these seemed most likely to forward his views. Roveralla, Dugnani, Fabrizio Ruffini, whose dependence was placed on Cardinal Richelieu, he was very insinuating, very plausible in his opinions, and, in the consistory,

the advocate of the measures most likely to conciliate the Emperor. To these were added, Bertazzoli, archbishop of Edessa, a timid and accommodating character, who, by ancient intimacy, was familiar with the Pope, and possessed his highest confidence and favour.

Thus Napoleon threatened, Bajana spoke authoritatively, Bertazzoli entreated with prayers and tears. During this time, the minister of the officiality commanded that no person whatever should speak to the Pope except the prefect, Lagorse, the gendarme, and the commissioners. The commissioners acted their parts well, except only that Ruffo and Dugnani broke bounds so much as to get upon the topic of the Pope's liberty; certain words, however, were said to them in reply, which obliged them to think of any thing rather than of releasing the captive. In the mean time, the council of Paris passed a decree conformable to the recent promises of the Pope; and a deputation of the council was to take it to Savona, that the Pope might ratify it, and issue a brief conformably. The archbishops of Tours, Malines, and Pavia, the

Bejana, the archbishop of Tours, and closely pressed the captive pontiff the other demands of the Emperor. to see what would be the ecclesiastical that would subsist if the Pope, taken should live at Rome, or at Avignon; by the Imperial soldiers;—if the Emperor named all, or almost all the cardinals the despatches of the Pontiff were permitted through the Imperial posts. the prelates acted in this affair the prelates of the empire rather than of and laboured for the entire emancipation secular power. Princes would have a weight of gratitude if their interests been consentaneous to their actions. this was an extraordinary case, to common rules of argument do not avail all the secular powers were at this slaves of one alone, which, through subjugation of the ecclesiastical power becoming the absolute mistress of the strange, but a true case. Ecclesiastical was a part and prop of the general

the orders of the Emperor they were to leave Savona instantly ; that he would entreat the Emperor to retract the concordat, and through him the ties which united the church and the Holy See would be broken ; that posterity, and more especially his successors, would condemn him for having caused such a grievous loss to the Apostolical See. It was the last moment ; the Roman church was undone ; the empire was triumphant ; he added much more as to the benefit which the parties would derive from the Pontifical compliance : Pius simply replied, “ that he would not act against his conscience. The providence of God was all-sufficient ; he cared not what the world might say ; and, least of all, the opinion of cardinals and prelates corrupted by the corruptions of Paris.” They departed without procuring any conclusion.

As a last experiment, the prefect went to the Pope, at the imperative order of the minister of the officiality, and gravely advised him of the importance of the case, of the ruin, and of his future reg-

declared that the opinion of the clergy and of the entire world was in condemnation of his determination; adding, that if he did not yield, and adopt wiser resolutions, he was charged to acquaint him with what would inflict a deep wound on his heart. Pius replied, that his conscience forbade compliance; that God would show his power. The prefect then signified to him, on the part of the government, that the brief of the 20th of September not having been ratified, the Emperor considered the concordat as abrogated, and would no longer suffer the intervention of the Pope in the canonical institution of the bishops.

As threats transmitted from a distance had produced no impression, it was now resolved to try their efficacy when employed in the immediate vicinity of the seat of government. Besides, the times were becoming critical, and the fates were assailing Napoleon: the resistance of the Pope, and his distance from the capital, excited some uneasiness. The Emperor resolved to bring him to France, where he could see him, and threaten him himself: secrecy was

esteemed more excusable at night than the day. The fact that Lagorse, a captain of gendarmes, was to accompany the captive Pope, who had fallen into disgrace with the Emperor for having shown too much kindness to the Pope's physician, and that the Emperor summoned him to Turin in order to catechize him the Imperial confessor, that this artifice carried, that the pitying Lagorse, supplied him with attestations of good conduct in his former life. The matter proceeded ; the bridges and roads prepared for the journey : on the night of which happened to be dark at the stroke of twelve, they dressed the Pope in a white cassock, and put a white head, and the episcopal cross. Demonstrating no repugnance to the contrary, preserving perfect silence, he was hastily placed in the carriage prepared, and driven on the road to Andria : they said, as they j

he was the bishop of Albenga, who was going to Novi. They passed through Campormarrone, avoiding Genoa as suspicious. Nothing was changed at Savona; every day, for full fifteen days after his departure, the magistrates went to the pontifical palace to visit the Pontiff as if he had been present; the domestics prepared his apartments, served and cleared away his table, bought provisions in the market, and cooked them;—Fenestrella* for life, if they betrayed the secret. The guards watched the pontifical palace, and the gendarmes declared to all who wished to listen to them, and equally to those who did not, that they had recently seen the Pope with their own eyes in the garden, or on the terrace, or in the chapel; Suard, the lieutenant under Lagorse, who was in the plot, pitied "*poor Lagorse*," for having lost the favour of the Emperor. Those who knew any thing of the matter held their peace; those who knew nothing spoke at random, as usual. It was wished, however, that no one

* A fortress of Savoy, on the river Cluson, in the village of the same name.

should touch on the matter. A poor Riviera said to his sorrow, that the Pope at Voltri: he was ordered if not, it would be worse for him. ingly denied the fact, as he was and was sent away with—only tion, firmly determined never meet the Pope. The Imperial agents are in anxious expectation as to the rumour might arise at Savona, or the proximity. The magistrates wrote nothing was safe; that no one suspected the affair: in short, the Pope was ten leagues off, whilst he was still bound at Savona—so perfectly arranged that the designs Napoleon intrusted to his agents. The Pope reached Fontainebleau, to be subjected to the insults of military violence, and arrived soon after.

Extraordinary fatality! that there years before, Pius had been crowned in triumph, he was now brought a prisoner from thence Napoleon, who now sovereign lord of the world, was after, carried away a captive!

CHAPTER VIII.

Affairs of Sicily.—Constitution given by Ferdinand to the Sicilians, under the influence of Lord William Bentinck.—The Queen, obliged by the English to retire from Sicily, dies at Vienna.—War between France and Russia.—Napoleon's evil days arrive.—Overthrown in Russia; makes a fresh effort to appear on the German plains.—Is overwhelmed at Leipsig.—All Germany indignantly rises against him.—The concordat of Fontainebleau.—Proceedings of Joachim, of Eugene, and of Bentinck, regarding the affairs of Italy.—Eugene on the Save.—Italy assailed by diverse factions.—The end of the tragedy draws near.

IN Naples reigned Joachim, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, and in Sicily Caroline, the daughter of Austria. Napoleon, by the reflection of his power, influenced the government of Naples; England, by the presence of her troops, coerced that of Sicily. Many and various were the effects of that one same passion, ambition, which animated all, as well those who reigned in name, as those who reigned in fact; so sweet is power to

man, and sweet is it to woman also. occurrences that we are now about to have been already either mentioned to ; but it is now expedient to a relation of some things and to explain more fully, and then we shall have reached the end of this but too long narrative. A distant period demands

Joachim, who was easily buoyed up by empty hopes, was all intent on disorganizing the affairs of Sicily, alike by warlike operations, by cabals, and by intrigues : on her side, abetted by the English, she put her energy to the purpose of reorganizing the government of the Napoleonic dynasty in this continental kingdom turbulent and distracted. The blood-stained soil of Calabria, whitened with human bones, attest the instigations of Palermo and of Naples, as heard, as has been already recorded on these pages. We have also related the failure of Joachim's attempt in arms, and must now relate the history of those transactions which have come out of his political intrigues in Sicily.

they were, and worthy of the times which witnessed them. The acquisition of Messina was Joachim's chief object, as that place was not only important from its own strength, but important also from its vicinity to Naples. His partisans held secret intelligence there with men of low condition, in hopes of raising a popular insurrection against the government. The conspirators were of too humble a class to be of much importance; but as it seemed incredible that the French party should rely on a mere rabble of shoemakers, tailors, and fishermen, to produce a revolution in Sicily, it was apprehended that these were but the agents of more powerful coadjutors; and, therefore, in order to discover how far the conspiracy might extend, the court of Palermo sent the Marquis Artali to the spot; a man not merely inclined to obey the government to the utmost, but capable too of suffering justice to degenerate into cruelty. The terrors which marked the commencement of his mission marked the whole course of his administration: he imprisoned not only the guilty, but the suspected; not only the humble

and the poor, but the rich and the noble. Summoning the arrested to his presence, he commanded them to confess their crimes; "otherwise, in the severity of his justice, they should learn to know the Marquis of Salaparuta, who would administer justice according to the mode of Palermo; he would put iron on their limbs, manacles on their wrists, he would wring their necks; he would scorch their sinews with red-hot irons; he would make them speak but one single word, and Messia would have cause to confess that he was *Arta*. His threats were consentaneous to—nay, were more effective than, his threats. Confined in secret dungeons, which were too low and narrow to admit of them either to stand erect or to lie at ease, his victims were left for full fifty days, almost consigned to oblivion; a wretched little food being all that was ministered to them. Springs of water welled out around the walls; the ground was rough with sharp stones; there was neither light nor air, and the atmosphere soon became pestilential. Some had their bodies lacerated by stripes; some were torn

To some drugs were administered in order to occasion terrific dreams, from which they were awakened by the application of burning coals and pieces of heated metal. The limbs of some were horribly dislocated ; of other sufferers the entire skin was cut with small cords tightly bound, which were only unloosed when symptoms of mortification began to appear ; for the executioners found that death might deprive them of the victims destined to fresh torture. The detail of their protracted and multiform martyrdom, would be too painful ; I will only say that the Sicilian dungeons of Verres were the prototypes of those of Messina in the time of Artali.

The Sicilian soil responded to the Calabrian—fury for fury—cruelty for cruelty ! Unhappy clime ! doomed to witness the last excesses of man's ferocious nature ! The Calabrian and the Sicilian shores proclaim the severity of Manhes and Artali : but the first was inflexible, the last cruel ; the former calm, the latter furious. The former cured the desperate malady of a diseased country, the other destroyed the

country he ruled, and made it a
demon of revenge. Messina was
shuddered: to every man every
insecure; they executed alike
manded these acts of cruelty,
suffered them to be inflicted. G
incurred too by the English,
called to defend the people, and
them thus massacred under the
cries of the Messinese revealed
tragedy to Sir John Stuart, the
the British forces. He sent Lord
these horrible dungeons, accomp
geons to dress the wounds of
These circumstances were well
English ministry, indubitable pro
were furnished to them. I know
they thought the suffering of the
great consequence; but they certain
concerned at the odium they ex
the Sicilian government, and aga
herself. The defence of the is
weaker in consequence. It was of
ance to the English to keep Sicily

account of the island itself, as on account of its vicinity to Malta and Naples ; it being opportune to defend the one and assail the other. The violent sway of the Queen gave them no small cause of uneasiness ; for to her did the people chiefly attribute the measures of the government ; and the alienation they felt for her tended to alienate them from her allies also. The English, therefore, deliberated on the remedy to be adopted for these evils. In truth, the Sicilians, who had joyfully hailed the arrival of the court in ninety-nine, were now as decidedly inimical to it. The causes of this change, besides the extreme severities which had been practised, were many and serious.

On the death of Acton, in whom the Queen had chiefly confided, the Chevalier Medici was appointed minister of finance, a man, as we have elsewhere said, of singular dexterity, but inclined to despotism. On this account he pleased the Queen, and the Queen pleased him. The new minister was doubly odious to the Sicilians, not only from his arbitrary character, but on account of his birth, for he was a Neapolitan.

To these discontents were added a small consequence. The Queen, from time to time the desire of assuming the command which belonged to her husband in the mind of the King, had contrived to repress these fits of courage, that Ascoli, to whom Ferdinand was attached, and who was also in a great measure to herself, should be made prime minister. She now hoped to exercise a boundless influence on the King, by his own personal interference in that of the duke. But besides that, she was a man whose intellect was too feeble to bear the weight of such an administration; moreover addicted to the same dissipation as Ferdinand himself, and allowed the government to be governed by a lady whom he called his friend; and she employing the Duke for her own ends, in the discharge of his duty, a great clamour was raised against him, and his reputation suffered great diminution. These popular censures were directed against the court, and particularly against the Queen, because, in order to court

caressed his mistress. The Neapolitans who had accompanied the court to Sicily gave great disgust. With few exceptions, they were persons sent to aggrandize themselves amongst an impoverished people, or to act as spies over an irritated multitude. In both ways they augmented the hatred the Sicilians habitually nurtured against the Neapolitans, and the discontents already excited became daily more exasperated.

The public money, with difficulty wrung from the impoverished islanders, despite of their bitter complaints, was shamefully lavished on Neapolitans and Calabrese; some of whom were insolent, others vicious, and all immoderate in their scale of expenses. In the mean while, the soldiers were without clothing, and their pay had fallen into arrears for months, and even for years; and their wretched condition proved the maladministration of the kingdom. The court, however, remitted nothing of its wonted luxury, as though the kingdom beyond the Faro could of itself supply that vortex to which the two kingdoms united could scarcely furnish enough. Hence, although some lands belonging to the

crowns were sold to support expenses, yet the treasury was all exhausted, and whilst the court still spent on every branch of the public service, the roads remained unpaid. The roads in particular which parliament had assigned especially for their use, were broken up and neglected, and what had been allotted for them was applied to other uses.

To deepen the abyss still further, enormous expenditure occasioned by the defence of Calabria, by the defence of Sicily, and by different expeditions sent against the islands of Procida, Ischia, and the islands of the Gulf. The treasure which had been accumulated for the flight from Naples, was all exhausted, although it had been of no trifling value. Matters had come to such an extremity, that the Queen, as a last resource, pawned her dowry jewels, and obtained for the sum of ten thousand pounds, or about five thousand French L. sterling. The general indignation was increased by the reflection, that England

Sicilian court three hundred thousand pounds sterling, in yearly subsidy ; nor could the people comprehend how so much gold, Neapolitan, Sicilian, and English, was thrown with little or no result into the one absorbing gulf. The magnitude of the sums received was undoubted, and the poverty which resulted from the expenditure was pronounced a crime. The English, who paid a subsidy so ill-used, began themselves to lose their reputation with the people. “ Do then the English,” cried they, “ send their money to Sicily, for the pay of Neapolitan spies, and Calabrian homicides ? Is the specie of London brought to Palermo, only to protect the dependents of Arcoli, and the tyranny of Medici ? Are the British stipends paid on the Sicilian soil, only to render heavier on the neck of the Sicilians that yoke which made them wretched, ere the court was held in their island, and more wretched since ? Is so much foreign and native treasure sunk only to purchase an hourly dread of the reprisals of the Napoleonists ? ” Thus the English perceived that they were dealing with an ally who, having incurred the hatred of the people,

was communicating disrespect was this openly spoken of in the press and the government itself looked on the remedy. The result was to deprive the Queen of the respect she had arrogated to herself in the past and to caress, conciliate, a popular party.

The English resolved, before using open force, to try to remedy the situation by constitutional means, hoping to influence the Sicilian parliament. The parliament was convoked by the King in 1848 and led the court to expect much of its contributions. This was a test of ability, and of an internal strength. Not devoid of courage, and confident of his undertaking, he hoped to move to his will. He took his measures with the representatives, who were some of those freely elected. Some were gained over by promises of office. Others were elected through the influence of the government. Availing himself of a sham

Sicilian constitution, he so managed that several towns were all represented by one and the same individual. These multiplex representatives were all bound to Medici, and dependents on his favour. He had besides dextrously insinuated himself into the favour of the clerical order, not a few of whom were inclined to second his designs. Thus far all was well arranged by Medici; but on the opposite hand, he erred much in two other respects; for, believing that the commons and the clergy rendered him secure, he neglected to court the baronial body, the most powerful of all, and, further, he employed certain persons who, although endowed with singular ability, had yet fallen under popular odium, for having in the parliament of 1806 shewn great zeal in augmenting the taxes. The barons, partly from regard to the public weal, partly from hatred of Medici, who had neglected or incensed them, made arrangements amongst themselves to thwart his measures. Amongst his adversaries, the prince of Belmonte, who had been exiled from court by his means, stood conspicuous. Belmonte was a man of wealth,

of the noblest lineage, and of great
Sicily; neither was he wanting in
deficient in liberality. Friendly to
courteous to strangers, his example
Sicily was not sterile in merit. Some
virtues of his character; its defect was
pride. He was bent on avenging
Caroline and Medici; the barons
Belmonte. The minister soon became
that if it were well to have won
bodies to his side, it would have been
to have acquired the friendship of
dent. The issue was, that the parliament
a small augmentation to the domain
interposed so many difficulties in the
distributing and levying them, that it was
impossible to collect them. More manifest
of the dissatisfaction of the parliament
also displayed. It was customary to grant
many favours of the King, favour
conceded in proportion to the amount of
donatives granted; and now the barons

was efficacious: the other two estates adopted the same address, except, only, that the clergy requested the King to appoint separate prisons for priests.

The Sicilians, who, like every other people, had always paid taxes unwillingly, and the more so when they were of opinion that their contributions were wasted by the administration, now raised shouts of applause throughout the island in favour of the barons; whilst, with envenomed censures they vilified Medici, and those who had supported him in parliament.

This parliament of 1810 is memorable in the history of Sicily. By it the lands held by feudal tenure were made allodial, and many baronies were abolished; the barons consenting readily, and with singular disinterestedness, to a reform that involved a material injury to themselves in the diminution of their revenues. It was, besides, decreed that, for the better distribution of the imports, new regulations should be made as to the payment of the duties; and, for the more equal distribution of the land tax, a general assessment of the lands was ordered. The

assessment was to be made on for rent, or on the average of the the previous ten years. On these general census was formed, which imperfect, proved, nevertheless, a most intricate matter. The parliament improved the judicial system, which was necessary in those times, from the frequency of theft and robbery. Till all the cities and villages were, by laws, obliged to make compensation of their own goods, to all who in their districts were thieves or robbers. This obligation had of any effect, as these said captains were men, who preferred flight or imprisonment to restitution.

The parliament now created as companies of local guards as there was awarding to each band the care of their own district from offenders, and responsible for the robberies committed within its limits. The roads and scattered villages that had previously been much infe-

factors, became more secure, and the people extolled the wisdom of the senate.

Thus supported by public opinion, the barons rose into greater credit. The Queen, who saw her own power wane in proportion as the parliament and the barons gained favour, ill brooked this change. Medici, whether of his own accord, as knowing that, both from being a Neapolitan and an adherent of the Queen, he was unpopular with the Sicilians, or else by Caroline's desire, resigned his place as minister of finance. To conciliate the people, the prince of Trabia, a Sicilian, was appointed to succeed him; but he knew more of commercial than of state affairs. He pleased the court awhile, but soon fell into disgrace, because he proposed to repress useless expenses, and to form improved regulations for the chamber of finance. Meanwhile, the taxes were collected with great difficulty, and every thing was falling to ruin. As an extreme remedy, a second parliament was summoned. This assembly gave greater facilities for the collection of the imposts, but refused to

grant larger donatives. Even from the court proved vain to be moved neither by grants by proffered honours. It was state to subsist in this situation aid was indispensable. One called to the royal councils, presents; the first was a tax on *valorem*, on all private contracts or covenants. To prevent fraud sent to the notaries and public and Messina to see to the execution. The other expedient proposed the sale of certain possessions foundations, to foreigners, and Malta. Lest the sale should chasers, become nugatory, it by lottery. The effect of the not answer expectation; for been avowed, and opinion that the intended remedies were contrary. First, the nation regarding as which they deemed an arbitrary of the constitution, made a

private affairs, as the sale of lands, chattels, leases of houses or farms, and every other contract where the nature of the business might admit of it, should be trusted to the good faith of the parties, without resorting to the intervention of a notary. As to the lottery, notwithstanding the exorbitant gain to be acquired by it, none applied for tickets, and the project fell to the ground; for the people preferred hazarding the property they actually possessed, and renounced the alluring prospect of gaining that offered to them, rather than subject themselves to a tax which they considered illegal and contrary to the statutes of the kingdom. These resolutions were honourable to the Sicilians. The Queen disposed of the lottery tickets to her courtiers, dependent magistrates, partisans, and adherents—a feeble resource in such extremity.

Such a situation could not be long maintained unaltered. The Queen, who, although she deserved praise for her firmness, merited censure for the means she employed and the end she proposed, followed her usual line of conduct. The barons were equally steady, nor were they

men to let occasions pass them. now interposed; for they saw themselves followed by the government favourable to the French, by rousing the people; and as they had proved themselves useless to give advice to the Queen, they resolved to avail themselves of the influence which affairs had taken. All wished to see the Queen, English, barons, alike; some from cupidity, some from a desire to see constitutional laws. In this crisis a great change took place, which materially affected the affairs of Sicily. Those barons who were connected with the administration of the Queen, desirous of seeing the government established on a better basis, came forward, and presented a remonstrance to the King, supplicating the revocation of the two edicts as contrary to the Sicilian constitution, till then in force, which gave them the right of levying money. Th

ment. The Queen, whose resolution was not easily to be shaken, not only refused to bend beneath this storm, but even persuaded the King to have the barons arrested, and conducted to a place where they would have far other occupation for their thoughts than framing remonstrances on the measures of the government. Five of the chief barons of the kingdom, the prince of Belmonte, before mentioned, the princes of Aci, of Villarmora, of Villa Franca, and the duke of Anjou, were arrested, conducted to different islands, and confined in various prisons, where they were barbarously ill treated. In the secret councils of the Queen they even spoke of making their punishment capital, her most devoted adherents thinking thus to gratify her wishes ; but Medici, in whose counsels she most confided, negatived the proposal, alleging that so severe a measure would undoubtedly produce a revolution.

These things gave great anxiety to the English ; for they could not depend on the favour of the people, nor had they more confidence in the Queen, as, since the marriage of Maria Louisa,

she had become connected with them as they well knew her character she would throw herself upon however wild, and even upon Napoleon, if thus she might regard as little the displeasure she had hitherto regarded that haughty and indomitable was English, therefore, no longer at the Queen, and doubtful of the people, wished to try if by an barons they might not still be the island.

With this view, Lord Amherst ambassador at the court of Palermo to London, and Lord William B of great resolution, was sent in discourses of this nobleman were of liberty. Now was one strong against another as resolute. Before he reached Palermo than his negotiation with the Queen, at the dangers that environed her, and necessity of a change of measures,

a reform of the abuses which had been introduced into the administration and constitution of the kingdom. The conditions he insisted on were most obnoxious to Caroline; for he demanded the revocation of the two edicts, and the liberation and recall of the five barons, intimating that if she did not conform to the desires of England, he would take such decided measures as would render her consent unnecessary. The Queen, unused to hear herself addressed in such a tone, and still less used to tolerate it, so far from yielding to these representations, became but the more obstinate, affirming that she, not Bentinck, was the sovereign of Sicily: he, however, persisted, and wished to push her to some conclusion, till at length, to end the matter, and to free herself from his presence, Caroline categorically demanded by what right he obtruded himself into the affairs of the kingdom? and why he had so audaciously exceeded his credentials? "Where was his mandate for interfering in the government of the kingdom of Sicily? Let him send for it and show it; let him study to act the part of ambassador, not presume to arrogate

to himself the authority of prime minister, less that of king; Caroline of Austria, one who would submit to become his mistress, him who was sent, not to command but to show her reverence." Bentinck felt him to be to the quick; for he had in truth received no instructions from his government to add to his authority to coerce. Still, he went back, and replied, that if he had no minister, he would send and get one; he was prepared to put his threat in execution, seeing her danger, resolved to have a conference with Bentinck, not from any purpose, however, but in the hope of convincing her opponent: with some difficulty she consented to the interview; but as it took place between two who were at heart enemies, it never could be brought to an amicable conclusion, and ended at last with these words pronounced by the ambassador, in the presence of the Queen: "*Eit*

The English ministry seeing that remonstrances were of no avail, gave to Bentinck the supreme command of all the English troops in the island, so that whatever his counsels failed to effect, the force he commanded was equal to accomplish. Again he endeavoured to win the Queen by persuasion, but she persisted in her determination to act for herself, and not at the beck of others, whether of the English or the Sicilian parliament. Bentinck then declared that he would not only arrest the King, but Caroline herself, and send them to England, appointing the son of the hereditary prince, Don Francisco, a child of two years old, to govern, under a regency with the duke of Orleans and the prince of Belmonte at its head. That his threats might have due efficacy, he brought the twelve thousand English troops that had been quartered in different and distant parts of the island into the vicinity of Palermo. The Queen, seeing to what extremity things had come, and yet retaining her constancy of purpose, summoned the ministers and her most trusted friends to discuss these afflicting subjects in council. She

declared that she would in no wise ; domination ; the soldiery must be by force would she repel force ! represented to her that troops in su plight could be little depended up long had neither clothing, nor rat arms ; the display of a little bread them to any side. Caroline theref to fortune, but unconquered in sp to one of her country seats, at a from the capital. Thus were the of Napoleon and his partisans defe and the English party triumphed those countries which, unable to s selves, have to seek the patrona Bentinck having got the entire a his own hands, and fearing, not himself, but the Queen through hin to resign the royal authority on illness to his son, the hereditary p

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tration were to recall the imprisoned barons, to dismiss the ministers of the Queen, to annul the edict for levying the duty on private contracts, and to appoint Belmonte minister for foreign affairs, Villarmosa, of finance, Aci, of war and the marine. Some desired to punish the most devote adherents of the late administration with exile, imprisonment, and other penalties, especially the spies, who were the more detested, as being chiefly foreigners from the other side of the Faro; but the new ministry knowing that their administration would be good exactly in proportion as it differed from the former one, prudently forbore, resolving on mild measures. Punishing therefore only a few, who were peculiarly odious to the people, they let the others sink into oblivion. They desired amelioration, not revolution; professed an unwillingness to adopt new and unusual forms, and a desire to restore ancient customs, only adapting them to existing circumstances. The people rejoiced much at these changes, and exulted in being relieved from the spies: they said that the fortunes of Sicily were retrieved.

Meanwhile, the prince vic parliament : his mandate summed to provide for Sicily a good and to remedy abuses, and to remodel In this assembly there were partisans of the Queen, either advocated an absolute government they were indebted to her for their wealth, or their honours ; but unfavourable to them : there of a free constitution, many in the English forms of government the crisis was favourable : there tisans of the French ; and these with the Queen's faction, and not openly advocate absolute public opinion ran so strongly : proposed an excess of liberty, however would give birth to despotism.

The baronial estate had great

established as the sole religion of the kingdom. This faith the sovereign was to profess on penalty of deposition. The legislative power, and the power of levying taxes, were invested in the parliament alone; its decrees, approved by the King, were to have the force of law; the royal assent, or veto, was to be expressed in this form: "*It is the pleasure of the King,*" or "*the King forbids.*" The executive power was invested in the King alone, whose person was sacred and inviolable. The judges were entirely independent, both of the parliament and the King. The ministers were responsible for every act, the senate having the right of examining and impeaching them for high treason.

The senate was composed of two chambers: one of the commons or representatives of the people; the other of the peers of the realm: the representatives were elected by the people, according to previous usage; the peers of the realm were, whosoever had a seat on the ecclesiastical or the baronial bench, and whomsoever the King ennobled. The power of summoning parliament resided in the King; but he was obliged to con-

voked it once a year ; the nation gave the sovereign a splendid revenue, and the administration of the crown of Sicily could be molested either by taxes or person, unless in conformity with laws sanctioned by parliament ; they introduced judicial forms for the peers of the realm, and the commons alone had the power of granting subsidies, that is, donatives ; they began to observe what parts of the constitution of Great Britain might be suitable to those which were to be adopted to promote the welfare of the kingdom.

These were the chief heads of the new constitution given by Lord Bunsen. Being the fundamental ordinances of the kingdom, the people received these laws with satisfaction ; for equality of rights of persons are sure to please. Besides, at the instigation of the king, who was excited at once by general opinion and the desire of popularity, the pa-

and deservedly raised the name of the nobles to the highest honour ; for besides the general joy occasioned by the principal articles that were decreed, there was an astonishment not unmixed with gratitude at certain additional clauses, stipulated by the barons themselves, who spontaneously proposed and carried in parliament the abolition of the feudal system in Sicily, annulled all privileges arising from it, and made all the lands free and allodial. All investitures, subsidiary aids, manorial dues, and every burthen derived from the feudal claims, were abolished : as for tolls and fees of various kinds, individuals or communes were authorized to compound for them. To appreciate duly the magnanimity and patriotism of these voluntary sacrifices, it must be considered that a great part of the wealth of the Sicilian barons was derived from these feudal rights ; and there were families who, in renouncing them, lost seventy thousand francs yearly income. The abolition of the privileged chases, that is, of the prohibition game laws, gave sustenance to many villages that had been reduced to the utmost misery from the

destruction occasioned by the royal or baronial rights for These rights were now limited English system; and preserve in lands walled round. It was as characteristic of the spirit the King, to whom it was in wonted chases circumscribed, persuade the peasantry who parks to renounce the liberty parliament; but his efforts were successful. The Sicilians, exulting they had obtained, extolled the the generosity of the barons.

Nothing now remained but to assent, or rather the ratification the prince vicar. There was a this matter; for the Queen, it is her son to refuse his consent reported that she endeavoured to rection at Palermo, in order to government into confusion: re further, and whispered a more accusing her of having caused a

bottle filled with an explosive powder, splinters, and other deadly instruments, to be thrown into the hall where the senate was assembled. Certain it is, that the deadly instrument did burst, but at the embrasure of a window, so that, beyond creating alarm and confusion, it had no effect. These things were said of the Queen, not that she had actually done them, but because she was considered capable of doing them.

The sovereign felt it a hard trial to divest himself of his authority; but Bentinck, the parliament, and the popular impatience, at length compelled him. The prince vicar at last ratified the decrees; and for this concession he was praised by many, and condemned by few. The Queen, no longer able to resist, was constrained by Bentinck, who, knowing her indomitable spirit, saw, with uneasiness, her vicinity to the seat of government, to withdraw to Castelvetro, a territory about sixty miles from Palermo. Bentinck only awaited the fine weather of spring to send her to Vienna; certain that, so long as she should remain in the island, the new modelled state could never be tranquil, much less take root and flourish.

returned precipitately to the King
time, and by the urgency of
induced him to resume the helm
however that might be, the King
appeared at Palermo, summoned
and announcing the perfect
health, declared his intention of
royal authority. This strange oc
likely to entail many serious
Bentinck, early apprised of it,
orders to assemble the troops of
surrounding country. So great was
tude, that at midnight twelve thou
armed at all points, as if in opera
Palermo, and secured the safety of
government. Had Bentinck been
at this crisis, he would have been

articles granted ; to replace every thing on its ancient basis, and to recall the Queen ; for his ultimate object was to free himself from the dominion of England, and the arrogance occasioned by the democrats. A solemn thanksgiving was chaunted in the cathedral for the King's recovery ; plaudits were expected, but none were heard ; for they who, on the one hand, bore with repugnance the controul of the English, on the other dreaded the return of the Queen and her Neapolitans. The commander-in-chief, in the mean time, had perfected his preparations ; troops, under arms, garrisoned Palermo ; and the noise of artillery drawn through the streets excited much alarm. The terrified citizens asked what this might mean, and lamented that an occasion should have been given for all this military array. The King sent the governor of the city to Bentinck, to ask what all these warlike demonstrations signified. The English general answered ironically, that having heard of the King's recovery he wished to display the satisfaction he felt ; the soldiers and the artillery had been assembled to celebrate the happy event.

The Sicilian pondered awhile, Bentinck was rather jeering to him and then asked him if he had any consequences. He replied, that he had appointed him commander-in-chief of the island and entrusted to him the tranquillity and of the kingdom ; that to prosecute the execution of his office, he had at his disposal artillery and soldiers. Ferdinand, by some fortuitous accident, distressed of mind, relapsed into his former state of health ; and, confirming his former general, returned to the country with much reputation by an attempt which was and disgracefully terminated.

Bentinck wished to employ him in this unlucky expedition had occasioned the King to resign the command entirely in favour of his son. He was supported by his soldiery (enforcing his words with

whom, if not all, were adherents of the Queen, effectually dissuaded him from the final abdication. They feared, and not unreasonably, that if the prince vicar became king, they should find themselves placed in an unhappy predicament, from the enmity of the Sicilian barons, who had great influence with the prince. They could not return to their own country, which was in the power of the Napoleonists; and were Sicily to expel them, they knew not where to seek either succour or asylum.

This unsuccessful attempt to recover the royal authority, manifested to Bentinck the disposition of the Queen: wherefore, not a little apprehensive of her taking some precipitate measures, he persuaded himself that it was better to condemn a queen to exile than to risk the authority of England. Having recourse, therefore, to the strongest measures, he constrained Caroline to abandon Sicily. Driven by the winds and her adverse fortunes on barbarous coasts, she suffered incredible hardships ere she could reach her native Vienna, embrace once more her kindred, and breathe again her native air: in

these alone could she hope to for her loss of power. But this did not long enjoy ; she was taken and soon after passed from this. Thus ended the life of Caroline of Sicily ;—at one time, the promoter of institutions, at another the most ardent advocate of arbitrary government favouring the philosophers, subsequently the bitterest enemy ;—at one time the friend of the Emperor Napoleon, at another preponderating power ; at another, from too strong a love of power she was once protected by the English, to drive them into exile. This only is to be regretted whether it was the times or she herself so mutable. Yet, if we may judge not by one individual action in a particular general tenor, it will appear evident ought to be estimated rather as a

tation, neither I nor any man, I believe, will ever by any arguments seek to excuse her, not even on the plea of the sentiment excited by the dreadful fate of her sister, the Queen of France ; for if men were to go on heaping up vengeance upon vengeance, they would arrive at the last pitch of barbarism, even to tearing each other in pieces with their nails and teeth. The Creator has grafted in our hearts compassion for the wretched, and the joy felt in pardoning the culpable, in order that mankind might be arrested mid-way in the career of cruelty ; and when an incomprehensible folly, or our mad passion, urges us on to torture or to shed the blood of our fellow creatures, a salutary emotion of pity rises, to restrain us from rushing on to the utmost extremity of evil.

The prince vicar being re-established in the government, and the Queen gone, the ministers, especially Bentinck, who assisted at all their councils, urged the parliament to continue its political labours. It gave completion to the constitution, and put it into operation, much to the satisfaction of the people. Thus happy was its commence-

foreigners; namely, the governor
favours upon the meanest, the most
most incompetent persons. The
now the strongest, and always inter
desires, began to keep no measure
nobles, but displayed their rage
both by actions and expressions.
this conduct, not only blindness
but ingratitude for the past; because
nobles had been the authors of the
while the others had voluntarily
Now finding that they could no longer
the same respect, or enjoy the same
as formerly, they became averse to it
to alter that which their own wisdom
own exertions had effected. The general
the elections to the House of Commons

been rendered, or were likely to be rendered for the public good. The unworthiness of the representatives brought the whole assembly into disrepute; and the people, making no distinction between the spies and retainers of Caroline and the spies and retainers of Bentinck, conceived an opinion that rescripts and laws were but so many nugatory words of writing, and that public acts and their consignees were invariably the same, to wit, they patronized the most unworthy, and depressed the most meritorious. Some felt a contempt, some a hatred, some an indifference towards this new constitution, and classed together Caroline, Acton, and Bentinck. I revert to my ancient complaint, that the laws conducive to liberty are in Europe always subverted by evil habits and by ambition. The imposts levied at the time of the Bentinck parliament, according to the principles of the constitution, were much heavier than those paid previously in virtue of the ancient statutes of the kingdom. The reason of this was partly the necessity of paying the foreign troops, partly that of supplying by new taxes the contributions formerly raised from the

giving their votes at elections. The
tions of those in office were com-
coming from accomplices, and of
discontented to make such expl
foundations of the recent constituti
way, and the affairs of the new
were much embarrassed: still it sta
for the Queen was dead, and th
to give it the first shock; but n
Ferdinand, by the events of 1814,
throne in Naples, than by a sing
abolished this Sicilian constituti
without exciting any commotion,
even occasioning a regret among
From this it follows, that not
words, but the realization of immedi
is necessary to form a stable f

In fine, Ferdinand averred that the constitution had been imposed by force; Bentinck, that it had been established by choice; Castlereagh spoke equivocally. It was true that it had at first been desired, and then little liked,—the fault rather of the peasants than of the nobles, yet less theirs than that of the foreigners. Even here we see another instance of that vice which in our verbose and ambitious Europe, vests the popular power, that power which should at once serve as the moderator of the government and as the protector of the people, in numerous assemblies. In the actual condition of Europe this is the worst expedient that can be devised; nor know I what would happen to England herself, if she had not her venal boroughs. By an enormous defect alone—that is, by these boroughs, does the British constitution maintain itself. The ancient Italian wisdom devised a better scheme of government; and if that which was only an unacknowledged or ill-organized principle in the constitutions of the old, or even of some among the modern Italian states, were brought into action under wise regulations,—a measure

which would be far from difficult—of accomplishment, then liberty and would be alike secure.

Whilst Lord William Bentinck ruled Sicily, Sir Edward Pellew was in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas: the sea was commanded by one power, the land by the empire of another. Some trials occurred now in one sea, now in the other, all of little moment, so recognising the superiority of one party, and the dependence of the other. Since 1811, the English had many transport ships at Cape Paonaro; afterwards, in order to press the siege of the city, they made themselves masters, at Rapallo, of the Adriatic, of a convoy of vessels laden with provisions. A well fought combat in the roads of Lissa, one of the islands that serve to defend Dalmatia, was of more importance; the French ships *Couronne* and *la Bellone*, were taken; the English, the *Flora* escaped, and the

Two great empires, such as Alexander's, could not, he thought, once within a world: with this stretched his own confines to the Russia; for this he united Hamburg to France; for this fortified Danzig; created the duchy of Warsaw; clutched within his talons that misère which resembled rather the lifeless extinct power, than one endued with life. He was aware of all the enmity brooding against him, especially in England. He was also aware that this disaffection was fostered by the mighty power of Russia. The more he joined with his eager desire to be supreme, disturbed his mind the more he became convinced that he could not conquer England if he had not first subdued France. Here too there lurked, it seems, a great shadow was the friendship which he the

empire, and in fine, of the whole of the Roman dominion. The East Indies also he coveted, in order to accomplish at once the destruction of England, and to acquire fame equalling that of the Macedonian Alexander. Let no man say that I here relate fantastic tales of pure invention; for not only was the over-land passage to India talked of at the time, but consultations were held upon it, the countries were explored, the resting places marked, the distance calculated, and connections were formed in Persia. The sycophant tribe already laboured to disseminate the idea, that the enterprise was not so difficult as was commonly believed. Russia was the only obstacle; but the Emperor of the French hoped to subjugate her, and thus acquire the sovereignty of the whole world. England knew this, and kept constant watch at the side of Alexander, in order to extricate him from the fatal grasp of Napoleon. She sent also an ambassador extraordinary to Ispahan, in order to cultivate a good understanding with the senate of Persia. On the other side, Russia saw that the contest must be risked, and thought the

sooner it were entered on, the less would prove. One half of the world against the other ; both empires at utmost strength. On the one side a powerful and numerous army, formed by the victories of so many the long-trying experience, the peerless stupendous renown of the unconquerable who, himself alone, brought to the scale a weight of war. It was favoured in the arts of corruption, by exciting alluring men to its standard ; it was aided by the war Turkey already waging with Russia, and by that which Persia was about to engage her in.

On the side of Russia, other powers were opposed to these : the remote territory, assailable only in front, in a climate of fearful cold, the entire devotion of the people to the Emperor.

west by the war beyond the Pyrenees was also momentous in its result; the exploits of the Spaniards struck on the hearts of the Prussians, and kindling every soul, however tame, excited them to the deliverance of their country. "The Spaniards, they said, a people latterly unused to war, had risen against the common tyrant,—the martial Prussians tamely and ignominiously crouched before him. Those, Catholics used to servile obedience, rose to combat; these, Protestants used to freedom, were patient of subjection. There was in Spain no mighty name to support; in Prussia most had seen, and all revered, the glory of Frederick the Second: his sword, which had fallen into the power of the conqueror, had been taken by him and treated with ridicule—the mean triumph of an uncivilized warrior; that sword waved them on to vengeance; the voice of the injured Louisa spoke from her tomb, and reproached the Prussians with their supineness. Nor was the rest of Germany tranquil. Austria herself, though her energy had been so much diminished, thrilled at the prospect of a propitious hour. Even Bavaria, who, from

his friends as well as to his foes most so to the former. As to the common slavery, it was ind puerile and arrogant conduct of brother of Napoleon." Thus none to stand idle spectators of the eve and all awaited only a favourable to declare themselves: these were Russia.

In Italy opinions differed; but it was of minor importance, from its the scene of action, and there was of seeing Guerilla bands there like besides, in Upper Italy, the duration sway had partly accustomed them it, and partly thrown the ancients into oblivion. In Lower Italy the c

support was powerful in the state. The central division, comprising Rome and Tuscany, fretted in impotence. The Piedmontese, a warlike race, rejoiced in being called to share the martial toils of France. Of the kingdom of Italy, the Milanese territory rather rejoiced in, than lamented its dependence on the unconquered chief; for it had a splendid capital, a name, and an army of its own, native magistrates and officers, and an appearance of independence: besides, the military glory of Napoleon had there commenced, had there reiterated its triumphs; the public monuments were magnificent; a sort of national pride had sprung up. The Venetian part, on the contrary, was averse to Napoleon: but what had the Venetians to hope? or for whom should they combat? They knew this only, that for themselves it was vain to struggle; they had nothing to expect for their noble country—ever the booty of the conqueror, or the ransom given for other spoil.

The two potent Emperors having resolved to combat for the sovereignty of the world, began, as usual, by the strife of words, alleging against each other trivial causes of complaint, much too

insignificant to justify the immense hostile preparations. They both had the same motive of the war; the entire necessity to be the impossibility of living on this vast earth. Napoleon, the most powerful and the most ambitious, urged on by the first to assail his foe. The first to reach the remotest regions: it desolated the Boristhenes; it spread desolation on the Volga. The Russians gave battle at Smolensko, and again at Borodina, on the 7th of September; Napoleon took Moscow; he took over it. Fool that he was! he had forgotten that God had already blasted his projects. In the confines of Asia it was decreed that the French should perish. Moscow, the city, was consumed—the cause and the result of dreadful calamities. A defeat at the hands of Murat showed Napoleon that the French were not enterprizing, and that it was no longer possible to linger in the depths of Russia. To find the road by which to retreat yet to save his army; he endeavoured to pass by Tula, intending to winter in the

vinces of Russia. The final contest took place at Malo-Yaroslavetz, where the soldiers of the kingdom of Italy displayed the utmost valour. There shone conspicuously the merit of Kutusov, the generalissimo of Alexander; there perished the hopes of Napoleon; there the destinies of the world were changed. Repulsed in a desperate engagement, Napoleon was obliged to turn anew to the desolated road of Smolensko. The cold of Russia exterminated the army. France bewails, and will for ever bewail—Italy laments, and evermore must lament, the flower of her people, cut off for the ambition of one man, who, in his pride, sought to defy Heaven itself. But Heaven manifested its power. This was the fulness of time that had been prophesied by Pius the Seventh. Let the ambitious, who exult in the agonized cries of slaughtered armies, learn to be moderate and just.

At the news of Napoleon's discomfiture, Prussia impetuously rose against her intolerable oppressor, and not waiting even the signal of the sovereign, sprang to avenge and re-assert

her freedom. Napoleon returned at Paris; but recent events had added to the fame of his military glory. Moved by occurrences so extraordinary, he raised a new army, and returned to Naples. He was taken by the Viceroy Eugène, who was dissatisfied with Napoleon, at his having traversed his kingdom of Sicily; nor was he ignorant of the intrigues which had been opened with the powers prejudicial to his throne at Naples. On the other hand, the allies, chiefly the English, resolved to put forth certain declarations which they knew would be well pleased by the Italians, and by which they hoped to arouse the whole peninsula. Now, the time arrived for giving Italy a new independent political existence. In general, they depicted the tyranny of Napoleon with delusive representations, laboured every thought towards freedom

guage, promising them the prompt and willing aid of Britain. Joachim knew all this: on his return, therefore, from Moscow, he visited Milan, where, more than in other districts of Italy, these desires were kindled, in order to discover what the times portended. But, frivolous man that he was, although his countenance was still impressed with his recent terror, he began to make vast boasts of what he would do, and what he would say; talked of the times being propitious for the independence of Italy; that he was equal to the enterprize, and willing to effect it. Having uttered these vaunting speeches, which, however, were not altogether without effect, he returned to his own kingdom. Knowing the man, and desiring to unite him with the allies in order to attack Napoleon from the utmost verge of Italy, Bentinck encouraged him to assume the standard of the champion of Italian independence. He extolled his valour, his warlike train, his troops; he inflated him with hopes; affirmed, "that were his arms united to those of the confederates, every doubt would be removed of the final issue of the enterprize;

throne, if not recognized by
Russia and England, must be
and insecure; that for him to
and maintained, a recent king
ancient dynasties, and in the
natural and legitimate sovereign
to the kingdom of Naples was
would require the free consent
this purpose it was essential
new connexions. Of what moment
now the conquered Napoleon
soldiers? and how could they
securing his own throne, he w
the safety and the liberty of Ita
he immortalize his name, &
odious title of intrusive king in
mate monarch and magnanimous
him then unsheathe his sword

would be easily accomplished, and as the labour would be mutual, the honour and the reward should be common also." In this manner Bentinck urged Murat to join the confederation. The affair had proceeded so far, that the English general had already gone, not to Messina, lest that should excite the suspicions of Frederic, but to Catanea, in order to have a better opportunity of ascertaining the inclinations of the new king and of forwarding the negociation. He was not without hope of a favourable conclusion, when letters from Napoleon reached Joachim. Magnifying every favourable circumstance, they averred that the conscript soldiers of France marched with the readiest obedience, that the armies were augmenting, that the people spontaneously voted large sums to the treasury, that France would soon come forth on the field more formidable than ever, and that, in fine, the revenue and the fortunes of the Emperor were retrieved. These tidings and the mutability of Murat's character occasioned him to break off all negociation with Bentinck, and he resolved to persevere in his adherence to

Napoleon. Bentinck took this enraged at losing all hope of an confederacy, that although Joseph his disappointment, sent him, rich and splendid sabre, he would treat with him, nor listen to him. he endeavoured to make at Napoleon's ultimate discomfiture. In consequence of this, Murat, idea of the independence of Italy part of Austria, hoping, in so his own greatness on the dependence.

Having recovered from the Russian disasters, Napoleon himself, wisely to weigh every rigorously to provide against adversity having taught him reflected, that to conciliate toward all his plans, and avail

were—"That the Pope should exercise
 tificical office throughout France and the
 of Italy after the manner and custom of
 lecessors; that he should send ministers
 potentates, and receive theirs with the
 privileges and immunities of the diplo-
 ody; that the unsold property of the
 e should be restored, and that already
 of, compensated for by an annual pay-
 two millions of francs." In conformity
 s concordat, and in virtue of the present
 ce, the Pope agreed to grant con-
 stitution to the archbishops and bishops
 ed by the Emperor for the empire of
 and the kingdom of Italy, in six months
 otice of such nomination should be
 icated to him. If six months should
 without such indication from the Pope
 election should pass: if it
 ican were in question, the most secret
 f the province should include him: if
 y he remained vacant beyond a year, the
 s well in France as in Italy, should
 e to six bishops, in the form of the

mon consent. The six suburban to be restored, and the Pope was to be there; the unsold property to be sold; the sees, that which had been sold to the bishops of the Roman states to be restored to their dioceses; the sees of the Genoese territories to be settled elsewhere; wherever the residence of the Pope was to be fixed, there the propagand and archives should be located. The Pope had promised to receive into his family the cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen, but he incurred his displeasure. It was understood that the Holy Father could not execute the abovementioned articles, on a consideration of the actual state of the church, and that he had made by Napoleon to extend his assistance to religion in the many dioceses he had assaulted her in the present time. The residence of the Pope was left to him, some talked of Avignon, some of Rome.

captive conquered his captor. Napoleon hastened to publish the treaty of Fontainebleau, and aware of how much importance it was, raised great acclamations on the subject. The Pope complained heavily of this precipitate promulgation; for he had desired that it should not be published until it was fulfilled in all its clauses.

The mildness of the season now permitted the opening of the campaign. Napoleon re-assembled his troops with extreme celerity, and promising himself more than ever from the future, re-appeared in strength and with the boldest bearing on the German plains. He fought the Russians—he fought the Prussians, in desperate encounters; with the utmost valour he also fought the Austrians, who now turned against him, excited by ancient hatred, and encouraged by his recent reverses. But the battle of Leipzig put an end to his power. The whole of Germany, changing with his fortunes, sprung with eager enthusiasm to liberty: the people of the different provinces zealously strove with each other in what they called a holy undertaking, and rushing to arms, avenged

like to the domination of Napoleon, universal indignation, had removed the obstacles which had hitherto impeded the desire. A fearful tempest, such as had never before threatened the destinies, hovered over Italy. The Emperor had been in nowise deceived as to the result of the long struggles, had sent Eugene to Rome, that he might prepare for the coming war. The Prince was welcomed with affectionate attachment by the people of the city, and that he showed himself fired with the desire of independence, for even then he showed docility in fulfilling the will of his father, because his disposition was amenable to the Emperor's rate. In this last emergency, he rigorously executed the mandates of his father, as well in hastening on the negotiations for contributions from the

explain the political intrigues which were carried on in these times, more especially those which regarded Italian affairs.

When Napoleon was still at Dresden, the allies (to whom Austria had already gone over) required him to restore the Illyrian provinces, to re-establish the liberty of the Hanseatic towns, and to consent to nominate, in concurrence with the confederation, independent sovereigns for the kingdoms of Italy and Holland, to evacuate Spain, and to send the Pope back to Rome. Subsequently, believing that the defeats he had sustained might render him more disposed to peace, they required him, without however making it an indispensable condition, to give up the confederation of the Rhine, and cease to style himself mediator of Switzerland. That haughty spirit, ever buoyed up with vain expectations, and presuming on his fortunes above the want of reasonable men, disdained to yield, and resolutely rejected the proposals. As to Italy, the voice of common fame avers that the confederates, not having been able to gain the acquiescence of Napoleon, laboured to seduce the mind of the viceroy Eugene, offering to

acknowledge him as the sovereign of Italy if he would make come them for the liberation of Europe the Prince could not have entered turning his arms against France his father. Eugene, it is said, was not master of himself; the was not his; he was but a delegate he could not even listen to such proposals less accept them, without rendering infamous. Were he capable of such proposals, he would inevitably lose and with it, the confidence of the people. be true, it certainly was a noble offer. Eugene had persevered to the end pure integrity, guided by honesty, posterity would have no material cast upon his name.

But after the defeat at Leipzig of Napoleon in Germany becoming desperate, Eugene began to think

his attachment to France. He indicated a desire to promote the independence of Italy ; and his most devoted adherents, averring that times were changed, advocated that independence, but in union with France, not in connection with Austria or England. “ This was the will of Napoleon, should the fortunes of France be retrieved, a destiny worthy of Italy awaited her. Napoleon struck by misfortune, was of far other temperament than Napoleon the triumphant. Prosperity had made him a despotic sovereign ; adversity made him willing to suffer liberty. The Italians were bound to seize the opportunity which fortune now offered, and assert their freedom under the temperate and potent protection of France.”

The advocates of these ideas expatiated on what they termed “ the odious rule of Austria—of Austria ‘breathing vengeance, thirsting for absolute power. The lapse of time had identified the people and their interests with the existing government : this intimate union could not be dissolved—and this Austria would require, without infinite grief and irreparable losses. The Italian

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of Napoleon in Germany began

his attachment to France. He indicated a desire to promote the independence of Italy ; and his most devoted adherents, averring that times were changed, advocated that independence, but in union with France, not in connection with Austria or England. "This was the will of Napoleon, should the fortunes of France be retrieved, a destiny worthy of Italy awaited her. Napoleon struck by misfortune, was of far other temperament than Napoleon the triumphant. Prosperity had made him a despotic sovereign ; adversity made him willing to suffer liberty. The Italians were bound to seize the opportunity which fortune now offered, and assert their freedom under the temperate and potent protection of France."

The advocates of these ideas expatiated on what they termed "the odious rule of Austria—of Austria breathing vengeance, thirsting for absolute power. The lapse of time had identified the people and their interests with the existing government : this intimate union could not be dissolved—and this Austria would require, without infinite grief and irreparable losses. The Italian

acknowledge him as the sovereign of Italy if he would make compensation for the liberation of Europe; the Prince could not have entered turning his arms against France his father. Eugene, it is said, *was not master of himself; the sword was not his; he was but a delegate* he could not even listen to such proposals, without rendering himself infamous. Were he capable of accepting such proposals, he would inevitably lose and with it, the confidence of the people. *Be true, it certainly was a noble sentiment.* Eugene had persevered to the end in pure integrity, guided by honesty, posterity would have no material cast upon his name.

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his attachment to France. He indicated a desire to promote the independence of Italy ; and his most devoted adherents, averring that times were changed, advocated that independence, but in union with France, not in connection with Austria or England. “ This was the will of Napoleon, should the fortunes of France be retrieved, a destiny worthy of Italy awaited her. Napoleon struck by misfortune, was of far other temperament than Napoleon the triumphant. Prosperity had made him a despotic sovereign ; adversity made him willing to suffer liberty. The Italians were bound to seize the opportunity which fortune now offered, and assert their freedom under the temperate and potent protection of France.”

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character widely differed from the Ge
closely assimilated to the French. F
Italians, if made independent, could
without French troops ; while the Ar
in the kingdom involved the mainten
soldiers. The Italians had to choo
being a separate state or a province o
one. The magnificent palaces so recent
those brave soldiers so numerously
magistracies so indissolubly united to
their customs so widely diffused ; the m
so long borne in the face of day,—all
their independence ; their energies we
not servile. Under its own domina
the kingdom of Italy exist ; and no
Italians should govern Italians. Eug
not Italian by birth, was so by el
by affection. He was prepared to ex
ever might depend on him, to prove to
how dear to him was their freedom
pendence, provided that thus the i
France were in no wise prejudiced. H
the political experience of a sovereign,
experience of a soldier ; he had at

prime of manhood which combines maturity and youth ; his frame possessing the vigour of the one, the activity of the other. The vexatious acts of his administration had been Napoleon's ; the beneficent his own. The very fidelity of the Prince in abiding in adverse fortune by him who in prosperity had raised him to power, proved his worth."

These insinuations of Eugene's adherents produced small effect ; for the party adverse to the existing government were not at any time to be gained over, and now less than ever when danger became imminent. The party approving it trusted little to French promises : they still saw occupying the first place in the favour of the Prince, saw influencing his most secret councils, saw arrogating to themselves the whole weight of his authority, those very men who had most humbly prostrated themselves in slavery before Napoleon ; who had shuddered at the name of independence ; who had chiefly advised and most zealously executed the hardest resolutions and the most rigid orders of the Emperor and King. They knew that they had always

recommended severe measures as had rendered themselves obnoxious of their sentiments, by their by the energy of their patriotism of the yoke had been proved, and inspired the cause they espoused duals, especially, had incurred the people of the kingdom of Italy. minister of finance, highly prized the ingenuity and inexorable firmness in raising the taxes ; and Count B secretary to the Prince, and a man of courteous manners, but who, being of the school of Machiavelli, believed that the art of government consisted in guiding men through rough that they must perforce maxims were exceedingly detrimental to the interests of the viceroy. Some, however, thought that when the deadly weight of the hand should be removed from the of the kingdom, these two despots would be removed also, and others employed, more inclined to moderation, were friendly to the liberty of Italy. So much

had been done by the activity of the viceroy, that a well organized army was already assembled, partly French, collected from the garrisons, and the conscripts of French Italy, partly Italians from the kingdom itself; some amongst them veterans, the majority new levies. The sight of this army inspired the people with some feelings of security: if they could not hope to conquer, they hoped at least to negotiate; they despaired not of being acknowledged a free state. The gathering tempests, meanwhile, approached at once from the Mediterranean, the Tyrol, and Illyria.

Eugene, from one day to another, becoming more eager in his hopes, more perplexed in his vacillations, aided by his accustomed advisers, unceasingly watched the progress of events. By his orders the minister of police wrote circulars to all the prefects, exhorting them dextrously to raise amongst the people the idea that the hour of independence had arrived; insinuating Eugene's desire to constitute himself its champion, and Napoleon's willingness to promote it. But subsequently, startled at his own daring,

and fearing that the re-action |
excite might turn to the preju
he gave orders to recall these
between commanding and coun
effected nothing. He did not p
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cannot regulate them by his own
not even to care whether his wi
in squaring them or not. To fou
of Italy was a grand design, n
collateral objects have interfered
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If it was honourable, it was nev
sistent, to wish to retain fidelity to
to France, when the end proposed
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ensue. I hear it said that upri
never acquiesce in such principles
and I hold my peace: this only w
if it be so, upright men ought not
such enterprises, nor even wear t
of wishing to promote them ; and

I affirm, that Eugene, whether from integrity or from want of energy, indubitably lost the cause.

At the period of Napoleon's disasters in Germany, Joachim too had begun to perplex himself on the same subject. Various and uncertain were his projects; at first, though he loved not the viceroy, and envied his greatness, he made him a proposal to divide Italy between them, and render her independent by their union, preserving her from the Germans, without prejudicing the interests of France, with whom Italy would still be connected as an ally; and threatening too, in case of a refusal on the part of Eugene, to take such measures as he might find most conducive to his own safety.

The viceroy gave little heed to the propositions of the King of Naples, whether distrusting him from ancient rivalry, or desiring to act for himself, or fearing to injure Napoleon and France. Joachim, losing all hope of Eugene's co-operation, resolved even so far back as when he led the army into the March of Ancona, to try what he could accomplish in the kingdom

of Italy by secret machinations. From his vaunts and the swelling boasts of his Neapolitan soldiers, it seemed that he was about to do wonders.

General Pino, an old friend of Lahoz, of tried valour, had lost his favour as well because he was known to be a man as because he vied in fame and power with Fontanelli, the minister of war. After his battles in Illyria and Friuli, which we relate in the following chapter, he had retired to the privacy of domestic life, taking less part in public affairs than a simple inquiry into their progress. Deeming him a fitting instrument, the King of Naples sounded him on the subject of independence, and promised to give of his Neapolitans to the enterprise ; and he entered into the plot with him. The Viceroy, despairing of the Viceroy, as being too old and adopted the party of Joachim, who, as more bold and less prudent, was capable of making a noisy and imposing flutter of unfurled banners. The conspirators managed to have Pino appointed as military governor to Bologna,

well situated for co-operation with the Neapolitans, who, as they already occupied the Marches, were in its vicinity.

Joachim sent one Pignatelli, to confer with Pino at Bologna, in order to persuade him to use his name and authority, which was great amongst the soldiers, to gain partisans, who were openly to discover themselves, when the King set forward to attack Upper Italy. These intrigues had not been so covertly conducted that Fontanelli, who already distrusted the governor of Bologna, had not some suspicion of them, and therefore he removed Pino, by which means Joachim was frustrated in his hopes of causing a rising in the kingdom of Italy, in despite of the viceroy. Pino went to Verona, where the Prince, when driven from the frontiers by the Austrian arms, had established his head quarters: he was coldly received by Eugene, and being even interrogated on suspicion by Luini, the minister of police, he went thence to Milan, much against his inclination, and openly avowed the utmost dissatisfaction. There he lived in privacy, even in obscurity, until

the commotion broke out that was an end to a reign more auspicious Joachim threw himself into the arms

Powerful armaments now succeeded tent machinations. The Emperor had engaged in the war with a fine body of about seventy thousand the frontiers, so as to begirt the Italy from Carlsbad in Croatia these troops were commanded by a man of great experience, old and in service. Many generals of note in command; among them the most Bellegarde and Frimont, officers much service in Italy. Hiller published a manifesto, in which, after describing the victories of the allies, he exhorted the Italians to rise against the Emperor for the general liberation of Europe, shaken by commotions, and to crush the powerful armies that from

its confines secure; for the allies, reckoning much on a general rising of the people, had agreed that whilst the Austrians should assault it on their side, the English with their own troops, and whatever others they could anywhere collect—chiefly Italians enrolled in Malta and Sicily, or at least with some Austrian bands, should infest the two shores of the Adriatic, as well on the coast of Dalmatia and Istria, as on that of Italy. They knew that, particularly in Dalmatia and Illyria, great dislike to the domination of Napoleon existed; in the former on account of the cruelties committed by some general there, and of the cessation of their commerce; in the latter from its ancient attachment to the house of Austria, and from the arrogance of Junot, the governor, who conducted himself like a madman, long ere he was confessedly declared insane. They also intended to assail the Italian shores, entering at the mouths of the Po, so as to create a diversion in favour of the principal force, which was descending by the Rhetian, Julian, and Norican Alps. They hoped, though they saw him irresolute and

wavering, that Joachim of Naples, their ally, as well because the Napoleon was fast approaching, as persuaded themselves that he was of immense importance to induce governments to treat with him, his title, to admit him to their aid, forces of the King of Naples, a moment to Austria, because they threatened Italy in the flank and rear it was least defended; for all contingencies, nobody, and least of with all his foresight, could have imagined a case in which Joachim would be one day seen to array himself against the Italian kingdom of France.

Nor were the coasts of the Me remain undisturbed: there the having ascertained the intentions proposed to make a descent with t

new government, and anxious to return to its ancient condition. With these troops came Lord William Bentinck and General Wilson, with their proclamations of liberty and independence: Bentinck aimed at liberty, but hung fire, being by nature rather arbitrary; and Wilson, who loved liberty, aimed wide of the mark, being by nature somewhat of a democrat. They displayed I know not what banners, with *Independence of Italy* inscribed on them, and the device of two hands grasping each other in sign of amity and alliance. Thus on every side howled the gathering tempest over the Italian kingdom and the entire peninsula. The old recollections of Austria, the new summons to liberty, the alluring semblance of national independence, the auguries of peace, concord, and happiness, the promises of remitted taxes, and of the abolition of conscript levies, were all employed to rouse the Italians; but these delusions had been so often practised in Italy that the people gave no credence either to the one party or to the other.

The Viceroy too was furnishing his entire life

army consisted of about sixty thousand men, among whom were the Italian veterans returned from Spain, the soldiers of the royal Italian guard, and some band; one third of the whole of the kingdom. Even the veterans who had gathered out of the garrisons of Spain, hastened to meet the impending peril. Eugene divided his army into three bodies: the first, under his own command, took its station on the banks of the Adige, the seat of the Isonzo, fields which had long been the seat of war, and so often glorified the arms of France; the second, led by Venetian troops, was stationed at Vicenza, Castelfranco, Bassano; the third, which was the Italian reserve, was stationed at Verona and Padua, and was commanded by Pinco, prior to his appointment as governor of Bologna. Of the

Montechiaro; and when afterwards the danger grew more imminent, it was sent under General Giflenga to combat in the Tyrol the Austrian force headed by General Fenner. The troops from Dalmatia, which were, from their small numerical amount, rather defensive than offensive, seconded this force; they were chiefly Italians, and collected from the garrisons of Zara, Ragusa, and Cattaro. And now, the danger becoming every moment more pressing, the Viceroy resolved to rush forwards, and fix his head quarters at Adelsberg, a place not far distant from the right bank of the Save, on the road by Carlsbad to Croatia, and by Lubiana to Carniola. At the same time, extending his force on the left, he sent a strong squadron to keep the passes of Villach and Tarvisio, having learnt that Hiller, collecting a very considerable force at Clagenfurth, threatened to advance at once to force those strong passes, and to reach, by ascending the banks of the Drave, the upper regions of the much coveted Tyrol.

This was the last act of that tragedy of which unhappy Italy had been the scene for a period

of twenty years, excepting only some intervals, which, if not defiled by blood, at best, been disquieted by rancor and by ambition. The victim of European party, all held out to her promises and to aggravate her ills, both past and present, for not rising in their defence, she were bound to requite their affection. Now at last arrived the time was to decide whether the sovereign should return to Austria, or remain in France; whether the ancient dynasties should prevail; whether the sway of Napoleon should or should not be continued; whether Austria should be as mild as in former times, or as severe by her wrongs; whether France should employ the sweets of peace to lead the minds of the people to forgetful-

course of former periods ; whether the natives of Italy were to learn the French or the German tongues ; finally, whether all the dulcet words which were lavished on the Italians were intended to promote their interests, or the schemes of the masters of the earth. For it has ever been the stratagem of those who seek to appropriate to themselves the rights of others, and more in our own than in any former age, to pamper the people for a time with delusive hopes and flatteries, in order, afterwards, to reduce them to servitude.

CHAPTE

The Austrians, under Hiller, in with a strong force.—Dalmati the French.—Eugene retires.— on the Adige.—The Italian satisfied with him.—Nugent of the Po with the Germans. Napoleon, and makes war again Battle of the Mincio, between Bentinck disembarks at Leghorn of Italy; takes Genoa, ar of the integrity of the Genoese Napoleon's fatal disasters; of the allies; of his retreat to fragments of his troops; of his accepted the Island of Elba as treats with Bellegarde, and re opinion in Milan.—Unanimous ence; but some desire Eugene prince as king.—Debate in the Popular tumult.—The senate colleges convened.—They crea deputies to Paris, to the Em

STATION IN 1942

and an American girl
singing from the top of the
"merry"

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.


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to their attacks on the left and in was the position of the Austria less advantageous; for the Croats being inimical both to their Italian confederates, were d against their present rulers. The tribes, and therefore of no small especially in a war to which the as the soldiery were parties. In operations was to push continual force at the extremity of his wings up the main body in the centre more cautiously, to keep the Viceroy apprehension of being surrounded the rear. This mode of conducting necessarily caused the fortunes of to prevail; as, advancing with centre, they did not afford the opportunity of forcing them to a pitched

should rather have displayed that skill, which, harassing the enemy, would have cut him off from the open country, and have impeded his progress amidst the defiles of the mountains, without hazarding an engagement, than the courage which defied him to the combat. In fine, the object should have been to keep the army entire in whatever position it might take up, because in that, and not in the extent of territory occupied, lay the safety, or if not the safety, at least the means of procuring honourable conditions for the kingdom. But the Viceroy was young; was the son of Napoleon; was himself tainted with the vice of the times, that is, with a desire of purchasing fame by sanguinary combats; despising, therefore, more salutary counsels, he preferred tempting fortune, and thus uselessly wasted his troops in affairs of little importance, which slightly, if at all, affected the final aspect of the war; when, on the contrary, he should have avoided skirmishing, should have retreated in undiminished force on more secure positions, and in undiminished force have abided the issue of events until the

fates should have disposed of Napoleon and France. The blood of the French and the Italians slain in the districts of Croatia and Carniola, cries Eugene, accusing him of ambition, of fulness, or of imprudence.

Towards the end of August, the Croats rose against their garrisons, the Croats and the Italian troops; Zara, Ragusa, held by feeble garrisons, easily yielded to the tumultuous crowds who surrounded them, and a band of Croats, strengthened by the aid of thousands of Austrians, rushed again to the city and took it without difficulty. The Croats and the Croats, urging on, possessed themselves of St. Veit, General Janin, unable to offer any resistance, having retired from the city. Those Croats who had been enlisted under the French ensigns, deserting their allegiance, returned to the ancient standard. Whilst thus successful in the vicinity of the Adriatic, the Austrians sent a large detachment towards the Tyrol, by the route of the Upper Drave. From Brissio the



the Adige, intending to make an incursion into the Veronese and Brescian territories. The Austrians, at the same time, came to action. Crivelli was taken and retaken on both sides with great loss. In these affairs, Pino displayed much skill and courage, and Bellotti proved himself a brave soldier but an unskilful general. The former succeeded at Lubiana, the latter was defeated at Stein. A desperate encounter took place at Villach, where the Austrians tried to cut their way to the pass of Tarvisio, in order to descend by the course of the Fella into the heart of Friuli. The French had marched to oppose the attempt, and after a furious combat, in which the city was many times lost and won, it was finally set on fire by the Germans, the French remained victors. The Viceroy, with great generosity, hastened to succour the burning town. The Austrians, in conformity to their general plan, extended their wings; Trieste, frequently taken and retaken, fell into their hands, and the whole extent of Istria submitted to their arms. On the north, precipitating themselves from the Tyrolese Alps, they threat-

ened to bear down against Belluno; and near the clang of their arms distant neighbourhood of Trent. Knowing this, and profiting by it, they had Save at Crinburg and Ramansdorf, and made demonstrations of an intended through Tolmino into the upper part against Villaco also they prepared attack.

The Viceroy was no longer able and had he persisted in occupying of the Drave and the Save, his retreat probably, have been cut off. The enemy in greater force than he, and were also by the people. He halted for a while at Isonzo, fighting always bravely, but ineffectually. In this manner Illyria the force of Napoleon's arms from the stem of Austria, was again brought the arms of the Emperor Francis to a total obedience. The manners and customs of these people in no respect accorded with the French, and in a trifling degree only with the Italians, in addition to which Nap

retained the laws of the feudal system, giving the fiefs to his soldiers and most confidential civil officers, who, ancient republicans as they were, enjoyed these feudatory rights so much that they harshly extorted them without abating a single sou.

The borders of the Piave could no longer be commanded by the French. The Austrians had already descended from Bassano in great force under General Eckard, and pressing on the rear, threatened the Viceroy with utter defeat if he did not retire. The imprudence of the Prince in not having made an earlier retreat was now evident, because, to accomplish it at this period, he was obliged to give battle. The engagement was severe, and lasted for two days, the 31st of October and the 1st of November. In this affair, the valour of Grenier was conspicuous. The fortunes of France and Italy prevailed, and the conquerors entered the ensanguined city, where they passed the night. The Germans lost about 1000 men; Eugene also suffered some loss, for the enemy fought bravely. The Viceroy was not

to draw back with less difficulty (the army retired in two divisions Padua, another by Vicenza, to Legnago. In this retreat, import and which presaged yet more import for already the half of the kingdom occupied by the Austrians, the Italian soldiers, but more especially behaved in the most laudable manner, avoiding rapine and outrage ; and it is the more to be commended, because part believed that they should return to the country they were quitting must it be concealed that the Germans every time, if we except the main whom provisions were prepared, lived laying waste, now here, now there, cities of war or the desire of pillaging the fertile fields of Italy, whose often destroyed, were so often re-produced only to be trodden to the foot of the spoiler. Since her fertility excite the cupidity of horde, nothing remains to her p

implore Heaven to render the country a savage wild. A blasted desert might give that security which innocence is unable to bestow.

On the Veronese banks of the Adige a spirit of disaffection towards the Viceroy began to display itself amongst the Italian troops; yet the fault in this case was rather his than theirs. Whether it was that he foresaw, from the gathering clouds that darkened the air, that it would be more to his advantage to show himself French than Italian, or that he gave too easy credence to some of his greatest favourites and most intimate counsellors, who, wished to exalt their own reputation at the expence of that of the Italians, Eugene had, even as far back as when in Prussia, after the Russian disasters, let fall certain slighting expressions with regard to the Italian generals: and not confining the expression of his contempt to simple words only, he had manifested it by actions. They esteemed themselves deeply injured by this conduct, not being accustomed to tolerate injuries or indignities; and Pino felt this even more than the rest, as being of

greater reputation. By degrees
nicated their own dissatisfaction to
hence arose in the camp sinister
even overt acts against the Prince
still more irritated these proud
spirits: they accused Eugene
uselessly shed, and of the contamination
the Italian arms. Already they
him by the hated name of foreigner
ill-omened term of reproach from
mouth to mouth, whilst they
cable resentment against his country.

In the mean time, Eugene was
possessed by the desire of acquiring
reputation by useless battles—brave
of man for fame. He poured
performed gallant actions, which
result; freed Brescia from the
vain; broke them in a great
battle at Caldiero, and was, never
forced to return to the point wh

Scarcely could the army of Italy keep its front on the Adige, a large river defended below by the fortress of Legnago, and above by the castle of Terona, so much did the enemy exceed in number. From all this it is evident, that the Viceroy ought not to have attacked the enemy, but should have defended himself; ought not to have left stations of security, but should have ensconced himself within them; ought not to have waged an offensive war, but should have temporized and have awaited the progress of events. Ruin fell from every side on Italy. A second storm hung over the Po; not now to decide the sovereignty of Venice, or of Alfonso, but to assert that of France or of Austria: nor was this storm the last we have to speak of, although the end of the tragedy draws near. The Austrian general, Nugent, had fought bravely in Croatia and in Istria against the Italian troops which occupied that part of the kingdom; but now every thing was secure for him in that quarter, as well from the retreat of Eugene, as because the fortresses of Lubiana and Trieste had yielded to the Austrian arms.

The city of Venice alone, of Austrian or Venetian territory, was in the hands of the Viceroy. The taking instructions from Belleguarda superseded Hiller as Austrian general in Italy, embarked at Trieste, and with a large squadron composed of Istriots, Croats, and Milan refugees, of delay, being aware that time was of daring enterprize, he pushed forward, took Ferrara, abandoned by the Austrians that had occupied it. He scourged the country with his light troops, endeavored to excite the people to rise. The important view was to effect a junction with the Italian brigades that had marched along the coast, and were now stationed at Ancona for this purpose, passing the Po with his troops, and taking up his quarters at Mantua. Nugent approached the Adige.

Belleguarda in order to

Nugent's invasion, he instantly despatched a corps under General Decouchy to Trecenta, in order to impede the junction of the enemy's divisions. Pino, at the same time, who commanded at Bologna, assembled as many troops as he could, and hastily advanced to Ferrara ; he restored Ferrara, but, from the accidents which succeeded, without thereby gaining any advantage. Decouchy had gallantly driven Marshall back from Rovigo, with no small loss, and obliged him to retire to the bridge of Bovara, in the Paduan territory ; but the Austrians continually brought up fresh brigades, in order to effect a junction with Nugent, who all this time held Crespino. The Viceroy, therefore, sent a reinforcement under General Marcognet towards the Lower Adige, that he might co-operate with Decouchy. The Germans sallied from Bovara ; Decouchy, and Marcognet, attacked them ; and an obstinate struggle took place, in which the French were successful on the right, unsuccessful on the left. The Germans retired to their secure covert of Bovara ; but, profiting by the shelter of night, and the negligent guard kept up by the French,

they broke them by an unexpected attack, obliged them to retire, first to Trecenta, and finally to Castelfranco, by which they regained Rovigo, by which event was now removed that opposition which had opposed Nugent and Marshall. Rendered victorious at this junction, Nugent marched to Bologna, and from Ravenna to Forli. To the surprise of the French, he employed no force, he employed only persuasion. "I have sufficiently have you been oppressed by the foreign yoke; too long has a portable yoke been imposed on you; a happy destiny awaits you. Take up arms, and reinstate your country in its rights; to become an independent nation is your wish, I have raised a great cry of promises, and the conscription should no longer be a burden, and that the consuming taxes should be abolished. In the mean time, his troops entered the territories of Ferrara and

practised, this injury was committed, by one of the Napoleon family. Joachim of Naples had long found himself much perplexed; and as the news from Germany, from France, or from the kingdom of Italy was favourable or unfavourable, he inclined to this side or that, resolving on this or that measure: much was he influenced by the desire of preserving his throne, and not less by fear of Napoleon; acting, therefore, with his characteristic inconsistency, he had negociated, as we have already related, now with Austria, now with Bentinck, now with Eugene, sometimes with all three at the same moment, not perceiving that he was equally well understood by all. In the mean time, certain of Austria, certain of England, but not certain of himself, he proceeded towards upper Italy: already had he occupied Rome, had he occupied the Marches, but had not yet declared his intentions. He feigned good will to the cause of the Italian kingdom: whilst professing friendship, he demanded the treasures of that kingdom against which he was preparing to march—and they were freely dispensed to him;

he demanded provisions, cloth from that same kingdom—and then to him; he was suffered to pass Ancona and at Rome by the Pope to whom he put forth cheerful expressions respecting France. I know not of what he could be certainly his dissimulation was more culpable than even the end the end, seeing the retreat of the allies of the approach of the allies in the Rhine to invade France, and Bentinck was about to fall on doubt being at last removed, discover himself, and to do what he could never have anticipated, than any other circumstance permitted. He concluded his bargain with a treaty which stipulated that Francis should, as long as he remained in Italy at least 60,000

military quota in this same ratio as necessity might arise. Francis guaranteed to Joachim and his heirs the possession of his actual dominions in Italy, and promised to use his mediation with the allies to confirm him in the same.

Bellegarde publicly announced to the Italians the accession of Joachim to the confederacy, admonishing them of the last hopes of the Napoleonists. Joachim, discovering himself an enemy in that country which he had entered, and where he had been received, as a friend, forced General Barbou, who held the fortress of Ancona in the name of France, and Miollis, who commanded the castle of St. Angelo, to surrender. The whole Roman state submitted to the Neapolitans, who—and their King not less than they, speaking now of the Pope, and now of the independence of Italy, knew not what they said: wherever they passed they pillaged whatever fell in their way: a new parturition of misery to the unfortunate inhabitants of Ferrara and Bologna. The vaunts that they made were immoderate, and their braggart speeches insufferable.

The first to break forth was the King himself,

by telling his soldiers, that as he believed that the Emperor Napoleon had brought the peace and prosperity of Italy, he supported him; but now all he had in view was up to his apprehension, and he was afraid that Napoleon desired nothing but to betray the interests of his subjects, of his states, of his army, if he immediately separate his forces from them and unite them to those of the princes who were intent on restoring their dignity—to nations, independence, and liberty—“were unfavourable banners,” he said, “whereon the one should be inscribed, ‘*Justice, moderation, laws, peace*’ the other, ‘*Persecution, fraud, war, domestic strife*.’ Let all the choice be made between them.” Such was the speech of Joachim Napoleon! Carasciotti, a Neapolitan general, yet more emphatic

The preponderating force of Bellegarde, the progress of Nugent on the right bank of the Po, the adherence of the King of Naples to the league, and the numerous bodies of his troops in the Modenese, rendered it impossible for the Viceroy longer to keep his station on the Adige; he therefore retired to take up a more secure position on the Mincio.

On the 8th of February he took the field in noble order to give battle to Bellegarde. The main body, in which the royal guard was conspicuous, issuing from Mantua, marched towards Valeggio; the cavalry, crossing the river at Goita, took the direction of Roverbella; and, to infest the enemy on the rear, General Zucchi, with the light troops, moved towards the island of Scala. To cut off Bellegarde from the upper region, the Viceroy commanded Verdier to join Palombini, to cross the Mincio, at Mozambano, and to attack the enemy at Valeggio: all crossed the river, and hastened to their allotted positions; but, by an unexpected accident, fortune converted a well arranged plan into an irregular movement. At the very moment when Eugene resolved to

attack Bellegarde, on the left bank of the Mincio. Bellegarde had equally resolved to stand firm on the right: owing to this circumstance, instead of finding the whole of the French force at Roverbella, the Viceroy was obliged to leave the rear-guard only, so that the main body of the guard engaged the German rearguard in three degrees, one battalion after another. The action on both sides: they fought bravely, but the French and Italians had the advantage at first, but were well nigh undone by the loss of their cavalry; however, they recovered themselves, and the battle became equal. The Viceroy, seeing Bellegarde was constrained to retire to the left of the Mincio, but entirely in order, which obliged the Viceroy to follow him, draw his whole force to the right bank of the river.

Eugene now perceived that it was not in his power to delay the defence beyond the Po, which from the

had garrisoned it with fresh levies, and a few bands of veterans under Gratien and Severoli; the danger increasing, he sent an additional reinforcement under Grenier, in whose skill the chief hope of the war lay in their last moments. Nugent, with his Germans, Istriots, and Italians, formed the van-guard of the enemy; Joachim, and his Neapolitans, the rear-guard. Grenier, on his first arrival, by a vigorous attack drove back Nugent, and forced him to return, at a quicker rate than the ordinary marching pace, to the Taro. Here he was joined by the Neapolitans, and made a show of defence; but so bold and so skilful was Grenier, that, crossing the river in these places, he again forced the enemy to retreat as far as the Enza. Nugent, however, hoping to stop the progress of Grenier, shut himself up in Parma, with three thousand men. Attacking the city on every side, the French entered it by storm, and the German, with a small part of his force, hastily evacuated it. In this encounter they fought desperately with fire and sword, to the great terror of the citizens. The

King of Naples returning in gre
 carried the pass of the Taro,
 within two miles of Piacenza
 arrested, not by the strength of
 by circumstances of greater fame

Pellev and Bentinck appea
 horn: they brought several lar
 and a force of 6000 soldiers, I
 and English. The governor
 the English entered the town
 March. They clanked the
 harangued, they published a
 unfurled the banners of Itali
 Bentinck showed great ardour
 and Wilson seconded him.

Bentinck thus addressed the
 official proclamation :—" Rise !
 Behold us here to aid you.—B
 order to remove from your necks
 Bonaparte. Portugal, Spain,

work the noblest amongst the noble. The French being driven forth from her happy fields, liberty and independence have there fixed their seat. Under the shadow of England has Sicily been screened from the common misfortunes: through the benevolence of a virtuous prince she has passed from servitude to liberty, and now demonstrates the glory and felicity which a free constitution confers. Holland also struggles for freedom. Will Italy alone remain content in bondage? Will Italians alone direct their ensanguined swords against each other, to subject their country to the will of a tyrant? To you, soldiers of Italy, we especially address our words,—to you, in whose hands is placed the completion of a generous enterprize. We ask you not to come over to us: our voices exhort you only to assert your rights, to re-establish your liberties. We will applaud you afar off; we will join you when summoned; and if you add your force to ours, Italy may, perhaps, be restored to her ancient destiny, and perhaps the same fame may be won by her which has been won by Spain." Thus did the English

commander seek to allure the banners, with the clasped hands, as he hoped by such protestations of amity, to excite

Bentinck, being of a courageous prizing spirit, did not rest content only. He learned at Leghorn, that of Genoa consisted but of 20 opportunity was inviting; for Genoa is of the utmost importance from the extent and the security as for the facility the territory possessor of descending to the mont and Lombardy: besides, it arms and naval stores. Then prepared to attack the city: his to send the infantry by the diff the Riviera, the ammunition in the artillery and heavy baggage Arrived at Sestri in the Levante,

1814.]

HIST. 222

cient to render the
Fresia commanded this
tinnick he extended his
and Tecla, his central
village of San Martino,
space intersected with
right wing descended to
enemy had no hope of
lengthened siege with the
brought against it: the
ever, was of vast import-
the general commotion, in
the interest excited. It was
sary for Bentinck to take it
assault. For this purpose he
and his forces showed great
dible promptitude in executing
He sent the Italians, under
an experienced and gallant soldier,
unfurled the banner of independence
a mountain summit, in front of
ing fort Tecla; he sent another
Italians against fort Richelieu; whilst
Travers, descending from Monte Fatic

Greeks and Calabrese, endeavor height which overlooks that for the dispositions made on the right part: whilst beneath, and nearer English infantry, under General Macfarlane, marched to attack and to clear away the obstacles that presented. Every thing succeeded Ceravigna, on the point at the fighting with singular courage, and from the height, and took batteries. This being perceived of Tecla, they deserted that station to the enemy. The eminence commanded fort Richelieu was taken and Calabrese, and the Italians abandoned the fortress. The garrison, upon the ultimate struggle, surrendered. On the left the confederates marched

of the constitution of ninety-six were added those modifications of utility, and the spirit of the constitution demanded. The government was divided into two colleges, as in the ancient constitution. To last till the 1st of January, 1797, at that time the colleges and council were reformed according to the constitutions of 1796. The acts of the English government subsequently proclaimed his majesty that as the English soldiers and sailors had driven the French from the territory, it was necessary for him to restore the peace and the good government of the country, considering, moreover, that a great desire of the Genoese people was to return to that ancient form of government. For a great length of time they had fought for their liberty, their prosperity, and their independence; and considering

desired in conformity to the declared principles of the confederates. To bring these declarations into action, he called to the government Girolamo Serra as president, and with him Francisco Antonio Daguino, Ippolito Durazzo, Carlo Pico, Paolo Girolamo Pallavicini, Agostino Fieschi, Giuseppe Negrotto, Giovanni Quartara, Domenico Demarini, Luca Solari, Andrea Deferrari, Agostino Pareto, and Grimaldo Oldoini.


From all this it may be decided whether the Genoese were not entitled to cherish the hope of preserving the honoured name, and the ancient form and being, of their country. If any man had, from the words of Bentinck, deduced this corollary, that Genoa was shortly to be made over to the King of Sardinia, he would certainly have been rather esteemed one who had been utterly bereaved of reason than a false logician. But Castlereagh pleaded I know not what right of conquest, and the advantage of the league—pretexts which were precisely those of Napoleon's senatus-consulta. It was well to put down Napoleon—it would have been better still not to have imitated him.

Nearly the whole of Italy was r from the empire of Napoleon: th ing part was that bounded by Mincio, and the Alps. But ev now to be decided for him rather of the Seine than of the Po. rumours respecting Napoleon were and then the certain news arrive federates, leading with them the Europe, had entered Paris t compensation given by the rule the rulers of the earth for the co Venice, Berlin, and Moscow. It forth in every quarter, that Na dering about with the relics of open country. Every hour f one stupendous fact on another so great a mass of armed m world from the time that Scipio nibal; Belisarius, Totila; Cha

had bidden a last farewell to his veteran soldiers, and accepted, as a final retreat, the humble rock of Elba. To relate facts of this nature to our contemporaries would be superfluous, for the fulness of their fame yet freshly resounds on the ear; to recount them worthily to posterity would be a task above all eloquence; nor will I attempt it, knowing too well my humble style and moderate capacity. This only will I say, that more was effected in arms than could have been hoped; that more was promised in words than was executed in deeds; that prosperity consigned to oblivion the protestations of fear; that ancient predilections prevailed over the necessities of modern times. Europe was, however, liberated from the thralldom of one sole will, and from a military domination. Whoever will look back to the commencement of this narrative, and will revolve in his mind all the circumstances that have been related, will feel mingled wonder, terror, pity, grief, and pleasure. We have seen the human race slaughtered, opinions distorted, society convulsed, force preponderating, justice insulted, innocence con-

demned. We have seen the wick
worthy persecuted, licentious
name of liberty, barbarity unde
humanity, policy under the na
and with all these, eminent, thoug
of the virtues of civil life, laudab
examples of probity, of valour
supporting despotism : Europe,
reproach and a disgrace to be
she may still return to sanity c
for the taint of Napoleon's st
Ambition is all alive in those
alive in those who obey : wheth
possible to unite liberty to mon
Yet from this lamentable reci
records of antiquity, this useful
be deduced, that whoever, like
being the subject makes himsel
country only to reduce her to
slain by the sword, or prostrat

expedient, as the Bourbons were restored to France, that the French should combat the confederates, who were in alliance with them. Besides, the Viceroy desired to facilitate affairs to the Bourbons and the allied powers, in order to promote his own interests, and to induce the confederates to use their victory less harshly towards himself. Issuing, therefore, from Mantua, he held a conference with Bellegarde, each being accompanied by a few troops only. They agreed that hostilities should be suspended for eight days; that in the mean time the French troops, under the command of the Viceroy, should pass the Alps and return to the ancient kingdom of France; that the fortresses of Osopo, Palmanova, Legnago, and the city of Venice, should be given up to the Austrians; that the Italian army should still occupy that part of the kingdom which they yet possessed; and that delegates from the kingdom should be permitted to seek the allies, and treat for peace; and if unsuccessful, hostilities were not to recommence before the expiration of fifteen days from the declaration of their final decision. This convention, concluded



there was such a disproportion
and the German army, that the
covenanted for a delay of fifteen
re-commencement of hostilities, was
in derision than for security.

The moment had arrived when
rades were to interchange a last
soldiers of France saluted the sold
emotion, and wept as they embraced
wished them a happier destiny ;
misfortune of their separation of
tunes the worst. They offered the
of their humble homes in France
they recall the recollections of
friendship ; of the battles they
by side ; of the glory they had won
the same standard. Though the

repay the debt which France owed to Italy." Thus, with soldierly kindness, did the French endeavour to soothe the bitter regrets of the Italians; whilst they on their side strove to console their parting friends, saying, "that they might depart assured, that though the Alps separated them, affection, and the remembrance of the glorious feats they had achieved together, should still unite them; they should derive consolation from the thought that those whose happier destiny gave them a country, would still think of those who had properly none; their own misfortune enhancing friendship, the attachment of the Italian for the French soldiers must now be intense. As yet they knew not what in this last exigency remained for them to do, for their own satisfaction and for the honour of the Italian standards; but this the French might implicitly believe—this might they feel in the innermost depth of their souls—that as they had seen them bravely bear the brunt of embattled strife, they should see them as bravely bear up against misfortune: this they hoped to show to the world, that if a country they no longer

possessed, a country they at have. What," they cried, "is Napoleon to us? Amid their them; for their beneficence w their misfortunes we have ren them. But Italy! it was fo enrolled our names—for Italy for Italy that we have suffered we mourn for so dear a part gives us an eternal bond of sympathy noble mind—with every mind generous sentiments."

The French departed by the Col di Tenda. The last str slowly and gradually disappeared not with them vanished the rem many successive years,—neither had been effected, nor of the ev committed. The benefits we France—injuries to individual

nor the roads which had been rendered secure to travellers ; nor those cut through insurmountable rocks ; nor the magnificent buildings that had been erected ; nor the sumptuous temples that had been brought to completion ; nor the activity communicated to the spirit ; the curiosity excited in the mind ; nor the commerce which had been rendered flourishing ; nor the agriculture which in many places had been conducted on an improved system ; nor the military valour which had been displayed in so many wars. On the other side, neither did there pass away the awakened ambition ; nor the arrogance of judgment ; nor the restlessness of men's minds ; nor the pressure of the taxes ; nor the subtlety in levying imposts ; nor the corruption of the language ; nor the military spirit that had been engendered. France departed, but the traces of her footsteps were left on the soil : not twenty years, but many centuries had elapsed from the battle of Montenotte* to the convention of Schiarino-Rizzino. Their remembrance will endure as long as man shall be found on the earth.

Having made his arrangements, the Viceroy was already about the states of the King of Bavaria, was allied by his marriage with Amelia; but at this juncture received, true or false, that the emperor was willing to make him that the people sincerely desired, hailed the joyful hopes; he intrigues by tampering with the garrisoned Mantua: the endeavor succeeded, partly failed. The object, however, was to gain Milan, the

At this crisis, the kingdom was divided into three factions: some desired Austria with little or no change of forms; others inclined toward republicanism, but some in one mode, some in another; some desired independence with a monarch, and some independence under a

to treat with the heads of the government, and induce them to declare in his favour; zealously, also, to the same effect laboured Darnay, the director of the ports, a person little liked by the people. To increase the unpopularity of this step, either at the suggestion of Mejean, or from their own inclinations, the Transpadones or Estenses, as they called the people of Bologna, Ravenna, Modena, and Reggio, intermeddled in the affair; and they were much disliked by the Milanese, who accused them of having arrogated to themselves a greater share than was becoming in the management of their affairs. Melzi favoured the design, and proposed it in the senate, when an animated debate took place, principally as to the election of Eugene. Paradisi, Oriani, and other Transpadones, of established reputation, of great knowledge, and great authority, urged the cause of the Prince with the most powerful arguments. “In political changes,” they said, “it was easier to effect a medium than an extreme. Men were accustomed to the government of Eugene, already acknowledged by the princes of Europe; they

only desired that he should be
France, and this was precisely
present deliberation ; although,
was little cause for uneasiness.
the independence of the count
itself ; and he who could believe
would in future depend on]
as he had done on Napoleon
especially, if between Lombardy
the kingdom of Piedmont was
as was already proposed, and
Savoy, deserved to be considered
ton, not a politician. Thus if
continued, is not only secure
but the necessary consequences
these considerations nature he
the intelligence from Paris could
prince be demanded, what success
obtaining the petition ? In a
moment, the senators would

so recent, how could they hope that to a kingdom so full of faction, so important from its situation, a prince whose disposition was unknown would be conceded. The name of an Austrian prince was whispered about, continued the advocates of Eugene, but they should weigh well, especially those who talked of liberty and national independence, the consequence of such a choice. Under an Austrian prince, did they then expect to live free and independent—under an Austrian prince, connected by blood, with the ancient sovereign of the kingdom, nurtured in maxims of absolute authority, necessarily in awe of Vienna, sovereign of Milan in name alone? Who are the soldiers who now threaten us? —Austrians. Who would bring such a prince to Milan?—Austrians. Who would flock to our frontiers to keep us in subjection?—Austrians. They know these territories, they know them, and they covet them. If cause were wanting, pretexts would be found, and at any moment an inundation of Germans would devastate the kingdom. The cause and the pretext would be, a failure in exact and humble obedience to

Vienna. What independence and perpetual fear, it was not easy to whom would these partisans have recourse? from whom demand avaricious England, who makes to the absolute princes of Europe a constitution more than an army. France, who would not move but and who now no longer could. An Austrian prince would be the friends of the ancient dominions by the lovers of despotic government the discontented: any sagacious man whether recent interests, or liberty, whether the opinions or growth of the last twenty years in such a deluge of contrary would be naturally, and almost necessity, the enemy of the kingdom?—certainly, and true

cupidity of Austria? It appeared, also, certain that the reign of an Austrian would not be independence, but dependence; not liberty, but servitude; not quiet, but discord and turmoil. Vienna, not Milan, would rule. With Eugene as King, every difficulty was smoothed; with a foreign prince not an Austrian, every difficulty would increase; an Austrian prince would give protection, but ensure slavery. Let the virtues then of Eugene, they concluded, be duly estimated; his love for Italy, his attachments to her customs: let not the happy auguries recently arrived from Paris be disregarded. It would be madness, in darkness so thick, to refuse to follow the only light that fortune held forth. If any one desired to wander in an endless labyrinth without a clue, without a compass in the pathless ocean, without light in an abyss, let him do so; but such were not the desires or the intentions of the Transpadones, who believed that opportunity was never neglected with impunity."

These sentiments were vehemently opposed by Guicciardi and Castiglione, especially by the latter, who acted with great impetuosity on

this occasion, and made bitter enemies of the Transpadanes. They were joined by the Milanese of reputation, of wealthy birth. "They could not," they said, "how, with Eugene, possess liberty or independence more the vassal of Austria, than to her, than even a prince of whom he was neither related to, nor connected with any European potentate of the day; for his own preservation he would seek protectors: where could he find them? Austria alone could afford aid; he hoped, from her vicinity and her power alone could he fear. He believed, perhaps, that he would be supported from the loftiness of his sentiments, that princes never think that they will lose their dignity by any mode of compromise with the people, provided they effect

known than was talked of? perhaps his spoliation of the regal palace at Milan? perhaps the bribes promised for those same pernicious and fatal intrigues? perhaps his agents Mejean and Darnay, sent to seduce the minds of the people: the same Mejean and Darnay, who were not only strenuous supporters of tyranny, but also the assiduous calumniators of all that the kingdom boasted of as most exalted, most noble, most generous? Perhaps Eugene's elevated nature was proved by the contempt he expressed for those soldiers of whom he was, at his own seeking, the stipendiary commander? The Italians were made the jest of a youth, who scarcely had attained to manhood, and who had no name, except that perhaps which he derived from him whose name was to the last degree odious. Let the purchased and welcomed spies, let the exile of the most generous citizens, let the tyrannical restraints on the freedom of speech and writing, attest the magnanimity of Eugene! There could be no doubt that, besides that he did not by nature abhor to act a subservient part, so he would also from necessity be constrained to it; and certainly

the spirit of Eugene's government thoroughly Austrian than that Austria. The edicts would be framed not in the regal palace of Milan. If any of this were given in the hall, it would be displayed to Bellegarde; in the streets; in the messengers sent to the Emperor Francis, and those displayed on the scene of the Parisian treaties:—as illustrated by the speeches that would come from the senatorial benches. If the prince were demanded, which would require extreme resolution that necessarily produce, had not Tuscany long been independent under an Austrian prince, Austrian princes are certainly unaccustomed to conditions of liberty, but they will observe what they do swear to. The lionists, on the contrary, betray their oath by violating them, observe

so also is Paradisi, that they would throw themselves into every danger rather than hear of the Austrians. They well know the reason why—these are the messengers of independence, these the defenders of liberty. Finally, nations, not factions, change the condition of states in important and unprecedented situations. Who will affirm that the Italians desire Eugene as King? perhaps the soldiers, who hate him,—perhaps the citizens, who do not love him? To elect him would be esteemed the machination of a few, not the desire of all; nor are the allied sovereigns so ignorant of prevalent opinions as not to be aware of these things.

“All the Milanese nobility reject Eugene, and demand freedom, and the people equally, who shout around these walls, and utter menaces at a mere murmur of his name, at the bare mention of the continuation, if not of the domination, at least of the customs of France. The hands of the allied sovereigns are nobly armed; generous motives excite them; generous actions are meditated by them:—the present moment is unparalleled in the history of ages. Propose

to them, not the desires of a f
but the desires of the people; p
a noble purpose, not the dema
prince, the docile pupil of a ty
for an enlarged and liberal pol
not an existence afflicted by spie
and your wishes will be fulfilled.
wishes of the Italians, these th
allies; such the will of Heaven,
raised the world in arms, that I
parte should continue to reign
the name of Eugene Beauhan
exclaimed, increasing in fury
have Eugene, neither will we
Mejean, nor Darnay. We desi
nected by blood with some po
stock, who will have no ne
himself by flattery and conces
for a prince who will swear to
and who will not destroy liberty

enough and too much we have had of France—too long have we suffered from the caprices of the Napoleon system. Now, when such high expectations are abroad, when the world is so powerfully excited, is the Italian mind directed elsewhere. The sufferings of the past ought to make way for future enjoyments, not for fresh inflictions.”

In the end, the senate decreed that three commissioners should be sent to the confederates, requesting them to command the cessation of offensive operations. They were to demand for the kingdom of Italy the promised independence, guaranteed by treaties; they were to express the admiration the senate felt for the virtues of Eugene, and how much gratitude they entertained for his good government. This resolution was generally known, and the party who held the name of Eugene in detestation entered into a cabal to prevent it. The heads of the army and of the most eminent houses in Milan joined in it. The most remarkable of these was Alberto Litta, who, though caressed by Buonaparte, had never accepted of any office.

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dishonourable life of public splend
joined by the richest of the men
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gency of their affairs shown so
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An assembly of the electoral co
manded. On the 20th of April,
assembled in the palace where i
usually held, a dense and tumult
people crowded round its walls.
dark and cloudy, a small rain
gloom oppressed the minds o
without calming the spirits of
In this crowd was congregated
men—plebeians, populace, nobles,
who had competence, and those w

.

loni, Durini, and Castiglioni. Even women—women of the highest rank, united their voices to the tumult, and joined the general cry of “*Our country! Independence! No Eugene! no Viceroy! no French!*” Amongst them was a lady of the family of the De’ Capitani, and a Marchioness Opizzomi, with many other ladies of note. These were all people of worth, incapable of evil thoughts or actions; but, as is usual in all such popular ferments, the ill-disposed and the dissolute poured in both from the whole extent of country and the capital, caring for any thing rather than independence. A writing was distributed to the crowd, having these words:—“Spain and Germany have shaken off the yoke of France; let Italy imitate their example.” Heading the mob, Gonfalonieri vociferated, “We will have the electoral colleges—we will have no Eugene.” Those of the senators who were partisans of the Prince fled; the senate broke up; the infuriated populace rushed into the hall of assembly, Gonfalonieri the foremost, and with mad rage broke and destroyed every thing there. Some malefactors who had

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 dishonourable life of public spleen
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 gloom oppressed the minds of
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 In this crowd was congregated
 men—plebeians, populace, nobles, and
 all the great men, and those who

mingled with the crowd shouted "I
and already had they set out to
One of his friends shouted "I
was yet more hated than Melzi;
rushed to seek Prina, and after
scourged him, put him to death
sate their rage; but they he
his bleeding and breathless body
for Mejean and Darnay, but th
be found. The fanatic crowd
their hands in blood, next aimed
tion of property. Already were
in marking the houses for spoil,
the doors, in carrying away the f
the rich, was on the point of b
this emergency the proprietors a
out the national guard and prese
The Viceroy, who was all this
on hearing of this tumult at M
by indignation to deliver up th

but to the Italians. Thus meanly did the Napoleonists lower their ensigns. Napoleon stipulated at Fontainebleau every thing for himself, nothing for his people; Eugene not only stipulated nothing for the nation he had governed, but did them all the mischief he could at his departure. He left Mantua for Bavaria, carrying with him the riches of Italy. In the Tyrol he narrowly escaped being put to death, to avenge the memory of Hofer—a fresh instance of the enmity of fortune, which now called the Napoleonists to destruction.

The electoral colleges were assembled, and created a regency. They passed a decree to demand from the allied powers the independence of the kingdom, a free constitution, and an independent prince of the House of Austria. The declarations of the confederates, as to the independence of nations, raised their hopes. Fé, of Brescia; Gonfalonieri, Ciani, Litta, Bal-labio, Somaglia, of Milan; Sommi, of Crema; Beccaria, of Pavia; were sent to Paris as delegates to the Emperor of Austria. Francis replied to their demands by saying, that “hearing

was Italian; that his soldiers
Lombardy; that the delegates
Milan whatever commands he
The Austrians entered Milan
April. Bellegarde took possession
in the name of Austria on the
Thus ended the kingdom of Italy.

Genoa was still occupied by
The Genoese lived in perfect security
preservation of their ancient reputation
strengthened in their hopes by the
promises of the allies, and by the
Bentinck. But, behold! the congress
decreed that Genoa should be
the King of Sardinia.

At this intelligence, the prince
ment thus addressed the Genoese
informed that the congress of
composed of our country, uniting
his majesty the King of Sardinia

the acquiescence of the principal powers had invested us.

“ Whatever could be done for the preservation of the rights of its people by a government armed only with justice and reason, our conscience bears witness, and the most distant courts can testify, was attempted by us without reserve and without hesitation. Nothing, therefore, now remains for us, except to recommend to the municipal and the judicial authorities the exercise of their internal functions;—to the succeeding government the care of the soldiers that we have begun to form, and of the civil officers, who have faithfully discharged their duty; and to all the Genoese people, that order and tranquillity which are essential to the prosperity of nations. Returning from public to private life, we bear with us a soothing sentiment of gratitude towards the illustrious general who has kept within the just limits of victory, and an entire confidence in Divine Providence, who never will abandon the Genoese.”

These were the last protestations, the last complaints, the last accents of innocent Genoa.

The following day, which was December, Sir John Dalrymple, of George the Third, assumed he afterwards resigned it to Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia.

Thus, after a various and a trophe of twenty years, than quakes and countless volcanic have been less injurious, Italy to her original condition. Victor reinstated in Piedmont; Francis in Tuscany; Pius at Rome from the Bourbon to the Austrian continued to reign at Naples, brief period. The Italian republic quished. The acumen of the that legitimacy resides in sovereign power, and had produced so absolutely singular a plural number. The humble

Victor. Nor were the governments of Francis, of Victor, of Ferdinand, or of Pius harsh in their spirit. They erred only in not duly estimating the great changes which had been made in the minds and hearts of men by a lengthened succession of extraordinary events. For if these changes even were, as some say, maladies, they the more required judicious remedies. Posterity will judge, whether the disorders which ensued are to be attributed to the diseased or to those who should have healed them. Joseph and Leopold, princes of happy and hallowed memories, endeavoured to benefit the human race by reforms—not to intimidate it by soldiers. Nor, in here addressing the Prince of Italy, do we advert to institutions after the English, or the French, or the Spanish mode, which would in no manner be suitable to the Italians; but on the contrary, desire reforms from which should spring greater tranquillity and happiness to the people of this peninsula, and (as we have already intimated in the preceding chapter) peculiar institutions adapted to the nature of Italians, at once easy to be understood, and easy

of execution. Moreover, aristocracy is the basis of Europe, and is indestructible. It is therefore, to calculate on its order inclining to freedom, a necessary element, and to give it, as an element of the state, that share of political power which is due to it; that thus it may not attempt to usurp the privileged powers of the social machine. It is necessary on the other side to prevent any influencing or exercising any of that popular power which shall be far as concerns Italy, in the ancient and modern mode, which cannot terminate in a division between the nobility and the people is in the nature of things, and is a law of the state. This is as well for the liberty, as for the power of the state; for nothing is more impossible than a nobility in the air;

done more injury in Europe to the cause of liberty than all her enemies together. Equality must be in the civil, not in the political laws. Abstract and absolute principles are propounded of the social order, solely to establish fundamentals, and are not intended to be put in practice without modification ; for the passions are the source of actions in men, and generate disorderly movements, which it is necessary to correct. These abstract principles in political economy are equivalent to the principles of mathematics in mechanics. The passions are in the former what the attrition of the machine and the other accidents of matter are in the latter ; and thus, like those who allow for attrition in the construction of machines, ought we to calculate the impetus of the passions in the social order. The effect desired is liberty ; that is, the exact and punctual execution of civil law equally towards all, and an equal protection extended by the social power to every one, as well for persons as property. If this end be obtained, there is no need to scrutinize the means, for means of various kinds, according to the diver-

sities of national character, may
same result. Whosoever could
following problem, "what d
part of political equality should
effectually to secure civil libert
would render an important serv
But of this let those more amp
more capable of such discussions

Meanwhile, having termina
task, which rather by the desir
of our own inclination we fir
here lay down the pen, to rep
too much agitated and wearied.

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